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THE ESSAYS

(I-XXXI)

OR

COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL

OF

FRANCIS LORD VERULAM,

Viscount St Albans.

With Introduction and Notes

BY

HENRY LEWIS, M.A.,

Principal of Culham College, Oxon.



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LIFE OF LORD BACON.

FRANCIS BACON was born at York House in the Strand, 22d January 1560-1. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth. His mother Ann was one of the accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Coke, the tutor of Edward VI, and sister to Mildred Coke, who was married to Lord Burleigh, which famous man was therefore Bacon's uncle.

In his early youth he seems to have shown promise of unusual ability, and at the age of thirteen was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge. He left the university, however, without taking a degree, and his father, who designed him for the public service, sent him abroad in the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, the queen's ambassador at the court of Paris. He remained abroad until 1579, when he was hastily summoned home by the death of his father, and he found his elder brother Anthony in possession of the family property, and himself left with very slender means. After having in vain solicited his jealous uncle for some public employment, he entered Gray's Inn, and for ten or eleven years gave himself up to the study of law with earnestness and assiduity, and when called to the bar in 1582 shortly acquired considerable practice and a high professional reputation. His advancement into office was, however, consistently opposed by Lord Burleigh, who dreaded the possibility of Bacon's rivalry with his own son, Robert Cecil; and when the office of Solicitor-General became vacant, although his case was pleaded personally with the queen

by the Earl of Essex, he contrived to have him passed over.

To console him in his disappointment, Essex generously presented him with a beautiful estate and residence on the banks of the Thames called Twickenham Park; but their friendship had a deplorable ending, for soon afterwards, when the favourite fell into disgrace, and was put upon his trial for treason, Bacon was named by the queen as one of Her Majesty's counsel against his former friend, and not only took a prominent part in his prosecution, but afterwards wrote a pamphlet justifying his execution.

Probably with the idea of acquiring that fortune by marriage which he seemed debarred from in his profession, he made matrimonial overtures to Lady Hatton, who, however, had read her suitor's essays upon *Love*, and *Marriage and Single Life*, and therefore declined him. On the accession of James I his prospects somewhat brightened; he was knighted (with a crowd of more than two hundred other gentlemen), and in 1606 married Alice Barnham, daughter of a wealthy alderman of the city of London. The next year he was made Solicitor-General, and then Attorney-General, when he at once renounced his private legal practice, and gave himself up to his official duties and to study.

In 1617 he was made Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor. He was also raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam, a title which three years afterwards was replaced by the higher one of Viscount St Albans.

In 1621 the House of Commons, indignant at the abuses and corruptions connected with the government, ordered an investigation into certain matters, the result of which was that evidence was obtained seriously implicating Bacon himself, and he was formally impeached before the House of Lords on twenty-three counts of bribery and corruption. He confessed his guilt, urging in palliation, what no doubt was true, that his faults were not *vitia hominis* but *vitia temporis*. He was condemned to pay a fine of £40,000, and to be imprisoned

during the king's pleasure. He was also declared to be incapable of holding state office, and was forbidden ever to appear at court again. He was imprisoned for one night only, and then retired heart-broken and in disgrace to his house at Gorhambury, near St Albans.

He died in 1626 near London, from a chill caught while trying an experiment of preserving meat by freezing, the chill being aggravated by his being put into a damp bed at Lord Arundel's house near Highgate. He was buried at St Albans.

To make a just estimate of the moral character of Lord Bacon is a task of great difficulty, and no doubt he has been over-blamed by some writers who have made no allowance in the individual for corruptions which were too generally winked at in society; while on the other hand his friends have advanced on his behalf excuses which cannot possibly clear him. His early life was embittered by disappointments, his later life stained with covetousness and extravagance. He always lived splendidly and far beyond his means, and his creditors were constantly harassing him. To escape from his pecuniary embarrassments he sought to increase an income, already princely, by accepting bribes which a corrupt age was too ready to offer; and exposure and disgrace were the legitimate consequence of his loss of honour and self-respect. No reader of Bacon's *Essays* would ever infer from them that he was a *good* man, but they bespeak a *shrewd* and *clever* man.

As a philosopher, enunciating and enforcing the true mode of philosophical inquiry, Bacon has rendered to subsequent generations services of incalculable value. He established beyond all controversy the superiority of the method of *induction* and *analysis* over the old Aristotelian method of *deduction* and *synthesis*, and there is hardly a department of knowledge but can show wonderful achievements which are the practical and direct result of his teaching.

The great work conceived and sketched out in many details by him, but never finished, was to have consisted

of six books, and to have been called *Instauratio Magna*, to which the *Advancement of Learning* (1605), enlarged and republished in Latin (1623) as *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, is an introduction, while the *Novum Organum* was to be the second book.

Among his smaller works are the *Essays, Wisdom of the Ancients*, an exposition of the political and moral truth he supposes to be contained in the classical mythology, the *New Atlantis*, and the *History of Henry VII.*

INTRODUCTION TO BACON'S ESSAYS.

IN 1597 Bacon published a small volume, dedicated to his brother Anthony, containing, among other things, ten of his essays.

In 1612 he reprinted them, increased in number to thirty-eight, and dedicated to his brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, death having overthrown his first intention of dedicating them to Prince Henry.

In 1625 he again issued them, now fifty-eight in number, and dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham.

It is interesting, in reading the deliberately recorded opinions of a great man, to know whether they belong to his earlier or later life, and how far they were influenced by contemporary history : I have, therefore, at the head of each essay placed its date.

It would be a work as superfluous as presumptive to put before the reader any commendation of the study of Bacon's *Essays*. They are not only remarkable, but unequalled for their conciseness, their pertinence, their practical suggestiveness, their vivacity, even when treating of trite subjects, and their compression of many thoughts into the smallest possible compass in words. No student can satisfactorily paraphrase them without much expansion ; no annotator, I fear, can adequately elucidate them without himself writing essays upon their various points.

ESSAYS CIVIL AND MORAL.

I.—OF TRUTH. (1625.)

'*What is Truth?*' said jesting Pilate;¹ and would not stay for an answer.

Certainly there be² that delight in giddiness;³ and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting⁴ free-will in thinking as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits,⁵ which are of the same veins,⁶ though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients.

But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take⁷ in finding out of Truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth⁸ upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools⁹ of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand¹⁰ to think what should be in it,¹¹ that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure,¹² as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same Truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs¹³ of the world half so stately¹⁴ and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth¹⁵ best by day, but it will not rise¹⁶ to the price of a diamond or carbuncle,¹⁷ that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering

hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would,¹⁸ and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy '*vinum dæmonum*,'¹⁹ because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and setteth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before.

But howsoever²⁰ these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet Truth, which only doth judge itself,²¹ teacheth, that the inquiry of Truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of Truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of Truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature²² of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense;²³ the last was the light of reason; and His Sabbath work ever since is the illumination of His Spirit. First, He breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then He breathed light into the face of man; and still He breatheth and inspireth light into the face of His chosen. The poet that beautified the sect,²⁴ that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: '*It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth*' (a hill not to be commanded,²⁵ and where the air is always clear and serene), '*and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests in the vale below:*' so²⁶ always that this prospect²⁷ be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of Truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical Truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round²⁸ deal-

ing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth²⁹ it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious;³⁰ and therefore Montaigne³¹ saith prettily when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge, saith he, '*If it be well weighed to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man;*' surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold that when Christ cometh, He shall not '*find faith*³² *upon the earth.*'

NOTES ON ESSAY I.

1. 'jesting Pilate.' He refers to the passage in the *New Testament*, *John* xviii, 38, where, however, it does not appear that Pilate asked the question in a jesting but rather a perplexed and distracted mood. This first sentence was not originally part of the essay, and occupies merely the place of an introduction, or introductory motto.
2. The nominative to the verb is omitted; '*there be*' (some); *be* is merely an old form of the indicative for *are*.
3. 'giddiness'—*i.e.* inconstancy, unsteadiness, frivolity. He is speaking of those persons who neither have, nor care to have, settled opinions and principles by which to rule their conduct; hence the expression immediately following, '*fix a belief.*'
4. 'affecting'—*i.e.* seeking, aiming at, endeavouring to attain. The verb *to affect* was formerly used in this sense. Cf. '*This proud man affects imperial sway*'—DRYDEN. '*The drops of every fluid affect a round figure by the mutual attraction of their parts*'—NEWTON. Hence the word passes to its kindred meaning, which it now commonly bears—to *pretend to*.

Bacon means that there are frivolous and inconstant persons who do not care at all about truth, and who profess to

have no settled opinions or principles, counting them rather as being a bondage, and holding that every man has a right to think as he likes and to do as he likes. This, however, is mere *affectation*, for no one is really a greater slave than the so-called libertine, and in matters of opinion and belief none are more prejudiced and tyrannical than those who boast of free-will.

5. 'discoursing wits'—*i.e.* shallow, discursive men who talk a great deal, and in a rambling way.
6. 'veins'—kindred, class, breed; in the same sentence 'blood' = vigour, manliness.
7. 'take'—must take; have to take.
8. 'imposeth'—*i.e.* imposes obligations upon. When a man knows what is right, it imposes an obligation on him to follow it and practise it. He is *obliged* to live according to his knowledge of the truth, though we cannot say that he is compelled; for *obligation* is moral necessity, while *compulsion* is rather physical necessity.
9. 'later schools'—probably the *Sceptics*, founded in Athens about B.C. 300 by Pyrrho. Their great doctrine, that there can be no such thing as certainty in our knowledge, was subsequently adopted by another school called the New Academy, under the name of *acatalepsia* (*i.e.* nescience), in antithesis to the ancient *catalepsia* (*i.e.* apprehension).
10. 'at a stand'—in doubt or difficulty; at a loss.
11. 'what should be in it'—what can be the reason; why it is.
12. 'make for pleasure'—tend to give pleasure. The verb *make for* is still often used in the sense of *to tend towards, to direct a course towards*; *e.g. apprehending a tempest, the sailors made for the harbour; the hunted fox made for the cover; the traveller made for London.*

In saying that the 'lies' of the poets give us pleasure, he is not speaking of deliberate lying, but of fiction. The essence of a lie is its intention to deceive, irrespective of whether it is literally true or not. Yet some people are foolish enough to charge the inaccuracies and mistakes both of others and of themselves with falsehood; and some have even fancied that the books of light reading called romances or novels are morally bad and injurious, because the stories they narrate never really occurred. If this were so, then most poems and pictures and stories, and all allegories and parables and fables, and a great deal even of our common language, would be lying, which is most absurd. Although Bacon here seems to put harmless fiction into the same category as cheating and lying, he does not mean to say that they are the same, as is evident from what follows, where he says, 'It is not the lie that passeth through the mind that doth the hurt.'

13. 'masks, and mummeries, and triumphs.' All these were common sportive entertainments. In masques or masquerades the entertainment consisted of dancing and other diversions of performers, whose faces were disguised in masks; mummeries were much the same, but originally the performers in them made sport by gestures alone without speaking; triumphs were magnificent and imposing processions, or pompous shows of pageantry celebrated in honour of some person or event.
14. 'stately'—adverb for *stately*; cf. *daintily*, immediately following.
15. 'showeth'—appeareth, seemeth. So in Tennyson, '*The world like one great garden showed*;' and in Dryden, '*Just such she shows before a rising storm*.' Shakespeare, I *Henry IV*, makes Hotspur say of the fop on the battle-field that '*his chin new-rap'd showed like a stubble-land at harvest home*.'

'Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,
Which *shows* like grief itself'—*Richard II*.

In this sense the verb *to show* is intransitive; but it is now generally used transitively and causatively for *to make to appear*, as a few lines before in this essay.

16. 'will not rise'—*i.e.* in the estimation of the world.
17. 'diamond or carbuncle.' Diamond is really the same word as *adamant* (Latin *adamas, adamantis*), but in a corrupted form. The substance was so called from its extreme hardness. A carbuncle is a precious stone of a deep red colour, with a mixture of scarlet; it is so called from its resemblance to a burning coal (Latin *carbunculus*, which is diminutive of *carbo*).
18. 'imagination as one would'—the trying to persuade ourselves of things which we wish to be true.
19. '*vinum dæmonum*'—the wine of devils. It is uncertain to which of the fathers Bacon here alludes; perhaps to St Jerome, who in one of his letters to Damasus says, '*Dæmonum cibus est carmina poetarum*.' There is, however, a passage in St Augustine's *Confessions*, I, 16, '*Vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum*.'
20. 'howsoever'—used in a sense now obsolete for *although*, as in Shakespeare, '*The man doth fear God, howsoever it seems not in him*.'
21. 'Truth, which only doth judge itself'—*i.e.* Truth itself is the sole authority which can judge of Truth; only those who are true can possibly know what Truth is. A man cannot examine Truth from an external stand-point, and form an opinion respecting it with a view to embracing it, if he should feel satisfied as to its claims: with reference to things that are matters of proof and evidence this course can be taken; but Truth is a matter of experience, and we must first

be true before we can form any opinion about it. It is an important ethical principle that the practice of what is right must precede all theories as to the nature of right. Virtue is its own sole judge. No reasonable man would ever think of refraining from action until he had arrived at some satisfactory conclusion as to the origin and nature of duty. The true ethical answer to the question, 'What is duty?' is, 'Go and do your duty, and you will find out.' The same principle is referred to in the *New Testament*, *John* vii, 17: '*If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.*'

In our minds the word *truth* is now generally used with ethical associations; but Bacon, in this essay, applies it indifferently to fiction, speculation, philosophic inquiry, and morals.

22. '*creature*'—created thing; creation. This word was not formerly limited in its reference, as now, to animal life. '*He asked water, a creature so common and needful, that it was against the law of nature to deny him*'—FULLER.

'On earth join, all ye *creatures*, to extol

Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end'—MILTON.

So also in the well-known grace before meat we say, '*Thy creatures bless I*'

23. '*light of the sense*'—actual light, light affecting the eye, light that can be perceived by the sense of seeing. He is referring to the account given in *Gen.* i, 1-3. In analogy with the light of sense, Bacon places 'the light of reason'—*i.e.* intelligence and mental powers with which God endowed man when created. *Gen.* ii, 7.

In the next sentence, Bacon implies that all the progress which men have made from the beginning, everything they have discovered and invented, all the advances they have made in acquirement, and research, and civilisation, have come from God, and are really a continuance and exhibition of His power. God's work was first *creative*; His subsequent work ('*Sabbath work*') is *directive* ('*the illumination of His Spirit*').

24. '*The poet that beautified the sect.*' The poet he refers to is Lucretius; the sect the Epicureans.

Epicurus was the founder of one of the later sects of Greek philosophers, who were called after him Epicureans. He was born B.C. 342, and taught his system at Athens. His fundamental doctrine in morals was that the highest good which man should seek to attain to is pleasure: he taught that prudence was the highest virtue, and that the only value of moral goodness is that it conduces to pleasure. He denied the immortality of the soul, and in physics adopted the atomic theory that the world was composed of atoms which

had met in empty space, had united, and disposed themselves into the light or heavy masses, of which our senses take cognisance. Epicurus himself seems to have led a pure and upright life; but although by making sensation his standard of happiness, he certainly did not mean to encourage sensuality, his system too easily lent itself to the justification of a sensual life, and hence has come into great dispute. Epicurus died B.C. 270.

The Epicurean doctrines were afterwards revived by a Roman school of philosophy. Lucretius (born B.C. 95, committed suicide B.C. 55), in a famous poem entitled *De Rerum Natura*, gives an exposition of the Epicurean theory of physics and morals.

25. 'commanded'—overlooked; looked down upon so as to be within the sphere of influence or attack—e.g. 'The fortress commanded all the bridges in the town.'

26. 'so'—so that, provided that, on condition that.

'Evil into the mind of God or man
May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
No spot or blame behind'—Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

27. 'prospect'—looking forth; looking out upon the battle-field.

28. 'round'—plain, straightforward. So also in Shakespeare.

'I will a round unvarnish'd tale deliver'—*Othello*.

'Let his queen-mother all alone entreat him
To show his griefs: let her be round with him'—*Hamlet*.

29. 'embaseth'—debases, makes base. The prefix *em* or *en* is causative, as in *embitter*, *embolden*, *embank*, *emboss*, and *endear*, *enthral*, *enlighten*, *enlarge*. The same particle is sometimes used as a suffix with causative force—*darken*, *lighten*, *strengthen*, *weaken*.

30. 'false and perfidious.' The latter adjective is much stronger than the former. A perfidious man is one who not only acts falsely, but acts falsely after having pledged his faith to be true.

31. 'Montaigne.' Michel Seigneur de Montaigne, a famous French essayist and scholar, was born of noble family at the château of Montaigne in Perigord, A.D. 1553; died 1592. His *Essays* are remarkable for clearness and simplicity of style, sound good sense and learning, but are pervaded with a philosophical scepticism that has greatly influenced the French character and subsequent literature. The passage Bacon refers to stands thus in the original:

'C'est un vilain vice que le mentir, et qu'un ancien peinct bien honteusement, quand il dict que '*c'est donner tesmoignage de mespriser Dieu, et quand et quand de craindre les hommes*:' il n'est pas possible d'en représenter plus richement l'horreur, la vilité, et le desreglement; car que peult

on imaginer plus vilain que d'estre couard à l'endroit des hommes, et brave à l'endroit de Dieu?—*Essais*, livre ii, ch. xviii.

32. 'faith'—quoted here (from *Luke* xviii, 8) by Bacon in the sense of *truth* or *truthfulness*. This use of the word, now obsolete, occurs in the common asseverations, *in faith, in good faith*; and in the passage, '*They are a very forward generation; children in whom is no faith*'—*Deut.* xxxii, 20.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY I.

- I. Some men care not for truth :
 1. Anciently they were philosophers.
 2. Now they are 'discoursing wits.'
 - II. Reasons for this :
 1. The difficulty and labour of finding out truth.
 2. The obligations it imposes upon the conduct.
 3. A natural preference for lying, because—
 - (a.) Truth would expose too many shams.
 - (b.) Falsehood gives a pleasure to imaginations.
 - III. Yet truth is the 'sovereign good of human nature,' being—
 1. The perpetual creation and gift of God.
 2. The only secure resting-place for men, as Lucretius says.
 - IV. 'Truth of civil business' (i.e. moral truth) :
 1. Universally allowed to be honourable;
 2. As lying is a disgrace (*Montaigne*),
 3. And will be the last peal to call down Divine judgment.
-

II.—OF DEATH. (1612, enlarged 1625.)

MEN fear Death as children fear to go in¹ the dark ; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of Death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious ; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak.² Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read³ in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think⁴ with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured ; and thereby imagine what the pains of Death are, when the

whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when⁵ many times Death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense.⁶ And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, '*Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa.*'⁷ Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies,⁸ and the like, show⁹ Death terrible.

It is worthy of observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates¹⁰ and masters the fear of Death; and therefore Death is no such terrible enemy when a man has so many attendants¹¹ about him that can win the combat of him.¹² Revenge triumphs over Death; Love slights it; Honour aspireth to it; Grief flieth to it; Fear pre-occupateth¹³ it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest¹⁴ of affections) provoked¹⁵ many to die out of mere compassion¹⁶ to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, Niceness¹⁷ and Satiety: '*Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.*'¹⁸ A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over.

It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits¹⁹ the approaches of Death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment: '*Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.*'²⁰ Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, '*Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.*'²¹ Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, '*Ut puto Deus fio.*'²² Galba with a sentence, '*Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani.*'²³ holding forth his neck; Septimius Severus in despatch, '*Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.*'²⁴ and the like.

Certainly the Stoics²⁵ bestowed too much cost upon Death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, '*qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponit naturæ.*'²⁶ It is as natural to die as

to be born ; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other.

He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood ; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt ; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of Death ; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is '*Nunc dimittis*,' when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy : '*Extinctus amabitur idem*.'²⁷

NOTES ON ESSAY II.

1. 'in'—into. The distinction we now make in English grammar is that, as denoting place, the preposition *in* follows verbs of rest (he stood *in* the street), while *into* is used with verbs of motion (he walked *into* the street). Formerly, however, the preposition *in* was used in both cases ; in such expressions as '*he fell in love*,' '*his conduct will be called in question*,' it is still used for *into*.

'You put on fear and cast yourself *in* wonder'

—Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*.

'Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep *in* our ears'—*Merchant of Venice*.

'But first I'll turn *in* his grave'—*Richard III*.

2. 'weak'—foolish, imbecile, weak-minded.
3. 'You shall read'—a stronger form for '*you may read*,' or '*you will find*.' The word *will* always implies more or less volition and voluntary desire, but this substitution of the auxiliary *shall* denotes absolute and inevitable certainty without regard to the will. Hence in a geometrical demonstration we use *shall* instead of *will* ('the angles *shall* be equal') ; so, also, in Shakespeare, Lady Macbeth says to the guests who are wondering at her husband's strange conduct :

'If much you note him,

You *shall* offend him and extend his passion,'

meaning, 'you will be sure to offend him.'

4. 'should think'—ought to consider.
5. 'when'—whereas ; when on the contrary. The obsolete conjunction *whenas* would properly be used in such a case as this

where the connecting word is intended to imply contradiction of what has been said previously.

6. 'quickest of sense'—most alive to feeling, most sensitive to pain. *Quick* is used for *alive*, as in the Creed, 'to judge the *quick* and the dead;' and in the Psalms, 'go down *quick* into hell.' So the sensitive flesh underneath the hard outer skin or under the nails is often called *the quick*. The word retains this meaning in the compounds *quicklime*, *quicksilver*, *quicksand*, *quicksilver-hedge*.
7. 'The pomp of death terrifies more than death itself.' There is no doubt that he refers to Seneca, though the quotation is not literal; and he appropriately designates him 'a philosopher and natural man,' *i.e.* one guided only by the light of nature and not by revealed religion.
8. 'blacks and obsequies.' The former word refers to black garments of mourning and the black hangings once commonly used in a chamber of death; the latter word denotes funeral processions, the *following* (Latin *obsequor*) of the dead to their graves.

So the adjective *obsequious*, which now means *cringing*, *following about in a servile manner*, was formerly used to denote *funereal*.

'In filial obligation, for some term
To do *obsequious* sorrow'—*Hamlet*.

'I awhile *obsequiously* lament
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster'—SHAKESPEARE.

9. 'show'—make to appear. The verb is used causatively. See note 15, Essay I.
10. 'mates'—matches.
11. 'attendants'—helpers whom he enumerates in the next sentence—Revenge, Love, Honour, Grief, Pity, Satiety.
12. 'of him'—*i.e.* from Death.
13. 'pre-occupateth'—takes possession of it beforehand; goes to it voluntarily, as in the case of suicide, to avoid what is regarded as a greater evil.
14. 'tenderest'—gentlest, most delicate.
15. 'provoked'—incited, moved, urged. This word, now commonly applied only to incitements of *temper*, was formerly used generally. 'Your zeal hath provoked very many'—2 Cor. ix, 2. 'Consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works'—Heb. x, 24.
16. 'mere compassion'—*i.e.* downright, absolute compassion. The word *mere*, now used in an exclusive sense to denote *only this and nothing else*, was formerly used in an inclusive and stronger sense for *entire, absolute*. Thus, 'He has a mere cold' means, 'He has a cold, and there is nothing more the

matter with him;' but formerly it would have meant, '*He has a decided and very bad cold.*'

'Engaged my friend to his mere enemy'—*Merchant of Venice*.

'Things vile and gross in nature possess it merely'—*Hamlet*.

17. '*Niceness*'—choiceness, fastidiousness. The adjective *nice* is now generally misapplied, being transferred from persons to things, or if used of persons, used wrongly. *A nice man* is not one who is pleasing to us, but whom it is difficult for us to please.
18. '*Consider how long you have been doing the same things; not only the brave or the miserable, but the fastidious man may wish to die.*'
19. '*good spirits*'—persons of good and noble nature.
20. '*Farewell, Livia! and live mindful of our wedded life.*'
21. '*His powers and vitality were now forsaking Tiberius, but not his hypocrisy*'—TACIT., *Ann.*, vi, 50.
22. '*I am becoming a god, as I suppose.*'
23. '*Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people.*'
24. '*Be ready, if anything remains for me to do.*' Septimius Severus died 'in despatch' (i.e. in the midst of business and occupation) at York, A.D. 211.
25. '*Stoics.*' The Stoics were a sect of Greek philosophers founded at Athens by Zeno (B.C. 355 to 263). He taught that men should aim at freeing themselves from passion, and at acquiring a tranquillity unmovable either by joy or grief, that they should submit to unavoidable necessity without complaining, and that they should regard health or sickness, pain or pleasure, wealth or poverty, as things indifferent.
In personal character Zeno was manly, simple, and abstemious, and had a profound regard for moral obligation. Many great and noble men belonged to the Stoic school; but through the extravagant egotism and asperity of many other of its adherents, the Stoic philosophy, like the Epicurean, to which it was opposed, came into disrepute. Bacon hardly does justice to Stoicism in the allusion which he makes to it here.
26. '*Who places the end of life among the gifts of nature.*' The reference is to the Roman poet Juvenal, *Sat.* x, 358.
27. '*The same person, when dead, shall be beloved.*'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY II.

- I. There is a foolish fear of death—
 1. Mingled even with religion,
 2. And increased by the accompaniments of death.

II. Helps to master the fear of death :

1. The passions—Revenge, Grief, Fear, etc.
 2. Noble life, which the approach of death does not alter.
 3. The Stoic preparation, which failed, really making death more fearful.
 4. Earnest pursuit of worthy ends.
 5. The hope of fame.
-

III.—OF UNITY IN RELIGION. (1612, *re-written* *in 1625.*)

RELIGION being the chief band¹ of human society, it is a happy thing² when itself is well contained within the true band of Unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that He is a jealous³ God; and therefore His Worship and Religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of Unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the Church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms⁴ are of all others the greatest scandals:⁵ yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity⁶ is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of Unity; and therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, '*Ecce in deserto*,' another saith, '*Ecce in penetralibus*'⁷ (that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of

heretics, and others in an outward face of a Church), that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, '*nolite exire*'—'*go not out.*' The doctor⁸ of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation⁹ drew him to have a special care of¹⁰ those without) saith: '*If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?*' and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them '*to sit down in the chair of the scorners.*' It is but a light thing to be vouched¹¹ in so serious a matter, but yet it expreseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing¹² that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, '*The Morris-Dance of Heretics:*' for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldings and depraved politics,¹³ who are apt to condemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it¹⁴ establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of Unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly.¹⁵ There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealants¹⁶ all speech of pacification is odious. '*Is it peace, Jehu?*'—'*What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.*' Peace is not the matter,¹⁷ but following, and party. Contrariwise,¹⁸ certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty¹⁹ reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrament²⁰ between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided, which will be done if the league²¹ of Christians, penned by our Saviour Himself, were in the two cross clauses²² thereof soundly and plainly expounded: '*He that is not with us,*

is against us ; ' and again, '*He that is not against us is with us ;*' that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely²³ of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already ; but if it were done less partially,²⁴ it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model.²⁵ Men ought to take heed of rending God's Church by two kinds of controversies ; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction ; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, '*Christ's coat, indeed, had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours ;*' whereupon he saith, '*In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,*'²⁶ they be two things, unity and uniformity : the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial.²⁷ A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree :²⁸ and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment,²⁹ which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both ?³⁰ The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same : '*Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.*'³¹ Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms, so fixed as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning.

There be also two false peaces or Unities : the one, when the peace is grounded but³² upon an implicit³³ ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark ; the other, when it is pieced³⁴ up upon a direct admission of

contraries in fundamental points, for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring Unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting³⁶ of religious Unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion; but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences, except it be in cases of overt³⁸ scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice³⁷ against the State, much less to nourish seditions; to authorise conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like,³⁸ tending to the subversion of all government, which³⁹ is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first Table against the second;⁴⁰ and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

‘Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.’⁴¹

What would he have said if he had known of the massacre in France,⁴² or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, ‘*I will ascend and be like the Highest;*’ but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring Him in saying, ‘*I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness;*’⁴³ and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of

murdering princes,⁴⁴ butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian Church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the Church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod,⁴⁵ do damn, and send to hell for ever those facts⁴⁶ and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the Apostle would be⁴⁷ prefixed, '*Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei:*' and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously⁴⁸ confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

NOTES ON ESSAY III.

1. 'band'—really the same word as *bond*, and derived from the verb *to bind*, like *bundle*, *bondage*, *woodbine*. Bacon compares religion to a cord or belt encircling human society and keeping it compactly together (just as in *Col. iii, 14*: '*Above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness*'), and says that it is fortunate, therefore, when the belt or band itself is sound and entire, and holds well together.
2. 'happy thing'—fortunate or desirable condition, or, as we sometimes say, *a lucky thing*. We have the same use in *a happy expression* (*i.e.* an expression fortunately occurring to us at the right moment), and *a happy day* (*i.e.* a day on which we ourselves are fortunate).
3. 'jealous'—*i.e.* not tolerating preference given to any other; vigilant in guarding and exacting what is due. The word may be used in reference to one's self or others; thus Elijah says, '*I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts*'—*1 Kings xix, 10*.
4. 'heresies and schisms.' *Heresies* are false doctrines that have been explicitly condemned and repudiated by the authority of the Church; *schisms* are separations and dissensions which result therefrom. The same distinction is involved in the Litany, '*from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism.*'
5. 'scandals'—causes of offence.

6. 'solution of continuity'—*i.e.* a severance of parts of the body that ought to be joined; an open wound or sore.
7. 'Behold, He is in the desert;' another saith, 'Behold, He is in the secret chambers'—*Matt.* xxiv, 26. In the parenthesis which follows, 'the conventicles' correspond to *in deserto*, and 'an outward face of a Church' to *in penetralibus*.
8. 'doctor'—teacher. The reference is to St Paul and his words, *I Cor.* xiv, 23.
9. 'propriety of whose vocation'—the precise and explicit terms in which his work as an apostle was defined to him at his call—*Acts* ix, 15.
10. 'special care of'—peculiar anxiety for (*those who were not Jews, like himself*).
11. 'vouched'—adduced; called to witness.
12. 'a master of scoffing.' He refers to Rabelais, a famous French wit and satirist (A.D. 1483-1553), and his romance, an extravagant satire, called *The Lives, Heroic Deeds, and Sayings of Gargantua and Pantagruel*.
The Morris-dance, *i.e.* the Morisco dance, or Moorish dance, is probably so called because it was introduced into England from Spain by the Moors. It still survives in England in the popular May-day festivities performed by 'diverse,' *i.e.* incongruous, characters grotesquely representing Robin Hood, Maid Marian, Friar Tuck.
13. 'politics'—politicians.
14. 'it'—*i.e.* peace. The antecedent to the pronoun is *which*, which again has for its antecedent the substantive *peace*.
15. 'importeth exceedingly'—we should say *is exceedingly important*.
16. 'zealants'—an obsolete and hybrid form of *zealots*, the root being Greek and the termination Latin.
17. 'the matter'—*i.e.* the real point at issue; they do not desire peace but to get followers.
18. 'Contrariwise.' He here mentions the other extreme of persons who would give up everything, essentials as well as things of no consequence, and who would settle all differences by compromise ('*accommodate points*'), being careless and apathetic like the Laodiceans (*Rev.* iii, 14), and anxious above all things not to offend any one.
19. 'witty'—clever.
20. 'arbitrament'—decision by arbitration; award of arbitrators.
21. 'league'—basis of common action against the enemies of religion.
22. 'cross clauses'—contradictory statements. He does not mean that the two utterances of our Lord here quoted really contradict each other, but only that on the surface they appear to do so; the one referring to points of essential and irreconcilable difference, the other to matters of indifference, with regard to which men may be allowed to have their own opinions.

23. 'merely'—entirely, exclusively. See note 16, Essay II.
24. 'less partially'—more fairly and impartially. Thus we often use the adjective *partial* to denote unfair and unjust preference for some one above others.
25. 'model'—plan, pattern; ideal which I should like to see carried out.

'When we mean to build,
We first survey the plot, then draw the *model*'—*a King Henry IV.*

26. '*There may be variety in the garment, but let there not be rending of it.*' The quotation is from St Bernard.

The distinction he calls attention to is, that *unity* is real oneness of spirit, while *uniformity* is oneness of appearance.

27. For example, many of the metaphysical refinements which have been introduced into theology. The useless and endless discussions caused by such terms as *transubstantiation*, *predestination*, and others, which belong not to theology but to philosophy, and have introduced needless and harassing complications into questions that are otherwise, and when viewed practically, very simple.
28. Thus two persons may disagree and quarrel on the question whether a certain action was *right*, when it appears plainly to a candid observer that they both allow the action to have been perfectly legal and allowable, but at the same time *unkind* or *unadvisable*.

Warm discussions might be carried on as to whether *Napoleon I was a great man*, or whether the *Government of England is Republican or not*, by persons who agree perfectly as to the facts but disagree as to the meaning which they attach to the terms used.

The courteous use of the word *misunderstanding* as synonymous with *quarrel* is an expression which concedes what Bacon here is contending for.

29. '*distance of judgment*'—the separation which renders it impossible for us to completely understand and appreciate each other, and therefore makes us incompetent judges of each other's words and actions.
30. '*accepteth of both*'—sees the truth and right of both contending parties.
31. '*Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called*'—1 Tim. vi, 20.
32. '*but*'—only.
33. '*implicit*'—really existing but not recognised; discoverable but not apparent.
34. '*pieced*'—patched.
35. '*muniting*'—strengthening; fortifying against attack (Latin *munio*).
36. '*overt*'—open; opposite to *covert*, i.e. hidden.

37. 'practice'—plotting, conspiracy.
38. Doubtless Bacon here refers to the papal excommunication against Queen Elizabeth.
39. 'which'—*i.e.* government. He seems to refer to *Rom.* xiii, 1, 2: '*The powers that be are ordained of God.*'
40. Such a course is really dashing the first Table of the Decalogue against the second, and thus breaking them both, on the plea of duty to God urging men to forget their duty to each other.
41. '*So many wrongs could religion induce to.*' Agamemnon was chosen by the Greeks to conduct the famous expedition against Troy. To stay a pestilence and remove a calm which prevented his departure, he consented to offer up his daughter Iphigenia as a sacrifice.
42. The massacre of St Bartholomew in Paris (1572), and the Gunpowder Plot (1605).
43. He means that the religious persecutor is guilty of the greatest possible and the most horrible blasphemy, because he *brings God in* (*i.e.* represents Him as upon a stage before spectators) in a character which is foully false, and ascribes to Him motives which are utterly abhorrent to Him.
44. '*murdering princes.*' He refers to the assassination of Henry III of France by a Dominican friar in 1589.
45. '*Mercury rod*'—the *caduceus* with which Mercury summoned to hell the souls of the departed.
46. '*facts*'—deeds. Latin *facta*.
47. '*would be*'—ought to be; requires to be. '*The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*'—*James* i, 20.
48. '*ingenuously*'—honestly, frankly.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY III.

- I. Dissensions in religion are naturally confined to those who worship a *jealous God*.
- II. The fruits of unity:
 1. Scandal is avoided (external).
 2. Peace is secured (internal).
- III. Bounds of unity to be defined—
 1. Not by the extreme of over-much zeal (Jehu),
 2. Nor by the other extreme of laxity (Laodiceans),
 3. But by making a careful and impartial distinction between things essential and things indifferent, for—
 - (a.) Needless discussion may be caused on trivial matters,
 - (b.) Or on important matters when dealt with in a trivial manner.
- IV. Unity is false when—
 1. Based on ignorance.
 2. Based on the ignoring of real differences.

V. Means of unity :

1. Spiritual authority, } *lawful*.
2. Temporal authority, } *lawful*.
3. Persecution ('*Mahomet's sword*'), *unlawful*.

IV.—OF REVENGE. (1625.)

REVENGE¹ is a kind of wild justice,² which the more man's nature runs to the more ought law to weed it out : for as for the first wrong it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office.³ Certainly, in taking Revenge a man is but even⁴ with his enemy ; but in passing it over, he is superior ; for it is a prince's part to pardon : and Solomon, I am sure, saith, '*It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.*'⁵ That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come ; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like ; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me ? And if any man should do wrong merely⁶ out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other.

The most tolerable sort of Revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy ; but then, let a man take heed the Revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one.⁷ Some, when they take Revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh : this is the more generous ; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent : but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark.

Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate⁸ saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. '*You shall read*' (saith he) '*that we*

are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends. But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: '*Shall we,*' saith he, '*take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?*'⁹ and so of friends in a proportion.

This is certain, that a man that studieth Revenge keeps his own wounds green,¹⁰ which otherwise would heal and do well.

Public Revenges¹¹ are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private Revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches:¹² who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

NOTES ON ESSAY IV.

1. '**Revenge.**' *Revenge* differs from *punishment* in that it is the infliction of merely spiteful injury in return for injury received; while *punishment* has a distinctly moral object, that of protection, by its deterrent influence, from similar injury in the future. Civil society has tacitly agreed that there shall be but one power competent to exercise this protection, namely, that of the law: revenge, such as duelling, which Bacon seems especially to have in mind, is not only immoral, consisting merely in the vindictive pleasure of retaliation, but unauthorised.

The vindictive self-gratification which revenge seeks is implied in the common expression, *to take revenge*; revenge is *taken*; punishment is *given*.

2. '**wild justice**'—uncultivated; like a noxious weed, which, though a natural growth, is carefully eradicated from gardens and cultivated places. He is referring not to wild animals but to wild vegetables; and compares revenge to a noxious weed, but lawful punishment to a cultivated plant. The phrases '*runs to,*' '*weed it out,*' show clearly that this is the meaning.
3. '**putteth the law out of office**'—displaces it, and usurps its function, which is the worse offence. Similarly, a Spanish proverb says: '*He begins the quarrel who strikes the second blow.*'
4. '**even**'—on the same level, no better than.
5. Quoted, but not literally, from *Prov. xix, 11*. The expression

'*I am sure*' is merely expletive, equivalent to *surely, certainly, then*.

6. 'merely'—entirely, altogether, absolutely; from downright evil nature without excuse of any kind. See note 16, Essay II.
7. 'two for one'—*i.e.* the original offender suffers only once, viz. by the revenge taken upon his offence; but the revenger suffers twice—once by the original wrong, and then again by the punishment of the law for his unauthorised revenge.
8. 'desperate'—bitter, sharp, very severe. Cosmo I (1519-1574), Grand Duke of Tuscany, and a member of the famous Medici family. On the assassination of his relative, Alessandro, he was elected head of the republic of Florence, which he ruled despotically, but with great prosperity, for thirty-four years.
9. Quoted from *Job* ii, 10. He means that as we are contented (having no choice) to receive both blessing and adversity from the hand of God, so *in like manner* and *in due measure* we ought to feel contented at what we receive from our fellow-men, when we have some degree of choice.
10. 'green'—unhealed, raw, open.
11. 'Public Revenges'—revenges undertaken publicly and lawfully. Bacon says that these are often *fortunate*—*i.e.* prosperous, successful. The murderers of Julius Cæsar, Cassius, and Brutus were both slain. Pertinax, a Roman emperor, was assassinated A.D. 193 by a band of mutinous Prætorian Guards, who, in return, were put to death by his successor, Septimius Severus. Henry III was stabbed (1589) by a monk, Jacques Clément, in revenge for the assassination of the Duke of Guise. Henry IV succeeded, and defeated the adherents of the Guises at the battle of Ivry, 1591.
Bacon contrasts the prosperous issue of these revenges with the unfortunate end of private revengers, who, he says, live and die like witches.
12. 'witches.' The 'unfortunate' end of witches, in Bacon's time, was sentence of death. Early in the reign of James I a law had been passed consigning to immediate death persons convicted of witchcraft, and Bacon himself had recommended the torture of a man who was charged with having used sorcery against the king.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY IV.

- I. Revenge is intolerable, because it is—
 1. Destructive of the law.
 2. Ignoble.
 3. Unable to undo a past wrong.
 4. Blind to human weakness and selfishness.

- II. Yet it is less intolerable when—
 1. The law is at default.
 2. It is taken openly.
- III. Between friends, forgiveness should exclude revenge.
- IV. Public revenges are generally successful; private revenges mostly fail.
-

V.—OF ADVERSITY. (1625.)

It was a high¹ speech of Seneca² (after the manner of the Stoics), that '*the good things which belong to Prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to Adversity are to be admired*' ('*Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia*'). Certainly, if miracles³ be the command over nature, they appear most in Adversity. It⁴ is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), '*It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security⁵ of a God*' ('*Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei*'). This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences⁶ are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect⁷ the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery;⁸ nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, '*that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher,*' lively⁹ describing Christian Resolution that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough¹⁰ the waves of the world.

But to speak in a mean,¹¹ the virtue of¹² Prosperity is temperance, the virtue of Adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue.

Prosperity is the blessing of the *Old Testament*, Adversity is the blessing of the *New*, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the *Old Testament*, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many herse-like¹³ airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more

in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon.

Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively¹⁴ work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a light-some ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye.

Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed¹⁵ or crushed: for Prosperity doth best discover¹⁶ vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue.

NOTES ON ESSAY V.

1. 'high'—noble; but Bacon seems to use the word here, and twice more in the next few lines, with some tinge of the meaning of *boastful*.
2. 'Seneca.' A famous Roman philosopher and rhetorician, and tutor to the Emperor Nero. Though attached himself to the Stoic school of philosophy (see note 25, Essay II), he acquired enormous wealth, and had a sumptuous palace at Rome, country villas, and splendid gardens. In A.D. 65 he was condemned for conspiracy, and ordered to put himself to death, which failing to accomplish by bleeding and hemlock, he at last effected by suffocation in a warm bath.
3. 'miracles'—really, *occurrences which excite wonder*. Bacon means, 'Doubtless, if miracles are exhibitions of the possession of marvellous power over Nature, then the greatest miracles appear in adversity; for the self-control of the conquest of circumstance which many persons exhibit under great suffering is more marvellous than any possession of power over the inanimate world.'

So also, '*He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city*'—*Prov. xvi, 32*.

4. 'It.' The antecedent to this pronoun is the '*higher speech*' quoted below.

Many readers of Seneca have been led by their lofty religious tone to believe that he must have had some acquaintance with Christianity; nor is this improbable. Bacon may intend to imply this in saying that the passage here referred to is '*too high for a heathen*.'

5. 'security'—freedom from care. The word, as used here, does not bear its modern meaning of *safety*, but its strict etymological meaning (Latin *se* and *cura*) of *having no apprehension of danger*, a meaning which it commonly bore in Bacon's time.

In this now obsolete sense of the word the sleepers in a burning house, or a blind man walking unconsciously towards a precipice, are *secure*, because they are *not aware of their danger*.

'Gideon smote the host; for the host was *secure*'—*Judges viii, 2.*

'They that provoke God are *secure*'—*Job xii, 6.*

'Upon my *secure* hour thy uncle stole'—*Hamlet.*

'*Security* is mortal's chiefest enemy'—*Macbeth.*

'But thou, *secure* of soul, unbent with woes,
The more thy fortune frowns the more oppose'—*DRYDEN.*

'Lie still, dry dust, *secure* of change'—*TENNYSON.*

6. 'transcendences'—lofty flights, exaggerations; hyperbolical expressions which are common in the figurative language of poetry, but out of place in matter-of-fact prose.
7. 'in effect'—in reality.
8. 'mystery'—secret meaning.

'Important truths still let your fables hold,
And moral *mysteries* with art unfold'—*GRANVILLE.*

The mythological fable which Bacon refers to is that Prometheus (whose name signifies *forethought*, as that of his brother Epimetheus signifies *afterthought*) stole fire from heaven and taught men all useful arts. As a punishment, he was chained on a rock, and an eagle every day devoured his entrails, which were renewed every night. Hercules killed the eagle, and released the sufferer.

Bacon, in his forced explanation of the 'mystery' of this fable, makes Hercules signify '*Christian fortitude*' (perhaps he means *Christ himself*), and Prometheus *human nature*.

9. 'lively'—adverb for *livelily*, *i.e.* vividly. So also *manly*, *masterly*, *orderly*, are used as adverbs by Shakespeare.
10. 'thorough'—the same word as *through*. '*He shall thoroughly purge his floor*'—*Matt. iii, 12.* So also *thorough-fare* (*i.e.* a way going through); and *thorough-lights* (*i.e.* windows opening through a building).
11. 'in a mean'—without exaggeration; leaving 'transcendences.'
12. 'virtue of'—virtue engendered by.
13. 'herse-like'—solemn, mournful, funereal.
14. 'lively'—bright in colour; as '*sad*' means dark-coloured.
15. 'incensed'—burnt. The passage contains an allusion to the burning of incense as an act of sacrificial worship.
16. 'discover'—disclose, reveal, uncover.

'Go, draw aside the curtains, and *discover*
The several caskets to this noble prince'—*Merchant of Venice.*

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY V.

- I. Heathens have spoken nobly of adversity :
 - 1. Seneca.
 - 2. Fable of Prometheus.
- II. The blessing of adversity :
 - 1. It engenders fortitude.
 - 2. It is especially the blessing of the *New Testament*, though not unmentioned in the *Old*.
 - 3. Its comforts appear all the brighter for it.
 - 4. It fosters virtue.

VI.—OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

(1625.)

DISSIMULATION¹ is but a faint² kind of policy, or wisdom; for it³ asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it : therefore it is the weaker sort of politics⁴ that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, '*Livia sorted⁵ well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son;*' attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius; and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith,⁶ '*We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.*' These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several,⁷ and to be distinguished; for if a man have that⁸ penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half-lights,⁹ and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life,¹⁰ as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally¹¹ to be close, and a dissembler : for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly,

the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.¹²

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is: and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously¹³ and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a Confessor;¹⁴ and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery,¹⁵ as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds.¹⁶ In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy.¹⁷ Besides (to say truth), nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons,¹⁸ they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral:¹⁹ and in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak;²⁰ for the discovery²¹ of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked²² and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity;²³ so that he that will be²⁴ secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning²⁵ to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage²⁶ between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches,²⁷ they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable,²⁸ and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.²⁹

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum³⁰ to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat;³¹ for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover³² the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair)³³ let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought;³⁴ and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, '*Tell a lie and find a truth;*' as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any

business doth spoil the feathers of round³⁵ flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits³⁶ of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature³⁷ is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

NOTES ON ESSAY VI.

1. 'Dissimulation.' As explained in the third paragraph of this essay, Bacon distinguishes between three things, each of which is treated of in its place—*secrecy*, *dissimulation*, and *simulation*. According to his distinction, *secrecy* is a man's concealment of his true character or object; *dissimulation* consists of artifices intended, without direct falsehood, to mislead others as to that character and object; *simulation* is downright hypocrisy, by which a man pretends and explicitly professes to be other than what he really is.

Perhaps his distinction can be best exhibited by illustration: In a case of smuggling, if the smugglers attempt to land their goods without observation by any one in the darkness of night, that would be *secrecy*; if they attempted it in broad daylight, seeking to avoid detection by a mere affectation of carelessness and openness, that would be *dissimulation*; if they pretended to be engaged in fishing, and made pretence of using their nets so as to avoid detection, that would be *simulation*. Or again, if an important private meeting is to be held, and some unauthorised person who wishes to be present hides himself in the room, in order to hear the proceedings, Bacon would call that *secrecy*; if he attempted to gain admittance by boldly and openly walking in just as if he had a right to enter, that would be *dissimulation*; if he got in by presenting a forged ticket of admission, and actually pretended that he had a right of entry, that would be *simulation* or hypocrisy.

2. 'faint'—weak, spiritless, cowardly. So in the proverb, '*Faint heart never won fair hand.*'
3. 'it'—the antecedent to this pronoun is the infinitive phrase that follows—'*to know when to tell truth and to do it.*'
4. 'politics'—politicians.

5. 'sorted'—agreed. So the verb *to sort*, when used transitively, means to arrange or group in classes things that agree together, which classes themselves constitute *sorts*.
6. 'he saith.' Tacitus, *Annals*, v, 1, and ii, 76.
7. 'several'—different, distinct.
'Four *several* armies to the field are led'—DRYDEN.
8. 'that . . . as'—such . . . that.
9. 'half-lights'—not fully hidden nor wholly disclosed, but having some amount of light thrown on them. (So *twilight*—*i.e.* doubtful light).
10. 'arts of state and arts of life'—accomplishments necessary both for statesmanship, and also for ordinary life.
11. 'generally'—always, invariably, without exception. Our present use of the word *generally* for *frequently* is liable to mislead us in the English of the seventeenth century. '*I counsel that Israel be generally gathered together*'—2 Sam. xvii, 2; also in the *Prayer-Book*, '*generally (i.e. unexceptionably) necessary to salvation*,' '*this kingdom in general*' (*i.e.* the whole kingdom).
Bacon uses the word (like '*in general*' immediately afterwards) in contradistinction to '*in particulars*;' the one referring to *all cases*, the other to *individual cases*; and says that if a man is not shrewd enough to discern readily those cases in which it would be well to be open, from those in which he should be secret, the only alternative open to him is *generally (i.e. always)* to be secret; to have a *general (i.e. invariable)* rule of caution; just as persons who are partially blind have to acquire the habit of always walking cautiously.
12. 'invisible'—unsuspected.
13. 'industriously'—intentionally, purposely.
14. 'Confessor'—a priest who hears private confessions.
15. 'discovery'—disclosure.
16. Men usually keep their affairs and their secrets to themselves, not caring to *impart* them to others except when they are burdensome, in which case they are often glad to be *discharged* of them.
17. 'mysteries are due to secrecy'—*i.e.* the habit of secrecy not only invites confession of others' secrets ('*mysteries*'), but claims them as its due.
18. 'futile persons'—blabbers, talkative or loquacious persons.
So also Bacon says: '*One futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal*'—Essay XX, *Of Counsel*.
19. 'moral'—mannerly, as it should be, belonging to good manners.
20. *i.e. that a man should never betray his secrets by his face, but should always look impassive, and make disclosures only by his tongue.*
21. 'discovery'—disclosure; 'tracts'—traits.
22. 'marked'—observed, noticed.

23. *i.e.* the secret man is often *compelled* to be a dissembler. He means the same thing a few lines below when he says that '*dissimulations are but the skirts or train of secrecy.*'
24. '*will be*'—wishes to be.
25. '*cunning*'—clever, shrewd, knowing.
26. '*indifferent carriage*'—impartial bearing, a demeanour betraying no leaning to either party.
27. '*equivocations or oraculous speeches*'—ambiguities; like the ancient *oracles*, that generally had two meanings, one of which would seem to come true, whatever the issue might be. Shakespeare, in his *Macbeth*, gives us the history of a man whose ruin was brought about entirely by these ambiguous speeches, '*that palter with us in a double sense.*'
28. '*more culpable.*' The reader cannot but be painfully impressed with the low moral tone of this essay, a tone for which, doubtless, Bacon himself is in some measure personally responsible, but which belongs especially to the age in which he lived. At that time trickery was considered an essential part of statesmanship, and policy presupposed '*secrecy, dissimulation, and simulation.*' This is, perhaps, to be mainly attributed to Machiavelli's work, *Del Principe*, published in Florence in 1532, five years after Machiavelli's death, in which are expounded the obnoxious principles of policy since designated by the opprobrious name, Machiavellian.
- The highest moral eminence to which Bacon attains in this essay is an admission by implication that '*dissimulation is culpable!*'
29. '*ure*'—practice. This word, now obsolete, except in the verb *inure*, has no etymological connection with the word *use*, though, as here, synonymous with it; but it comes from the French *heur* (= *luck, good fortune*), which again probably is derived from the Latin *augurium*. The word is sometimes used as a verb: '*The French soldiers from their youth have been practised and ured in feats of arms*'—SIR J. MORE.
30. '*alarm*.' From the Italian *all' arme*, to arms.
31. '*fair retreat*'—open road for withdrawal, in case it should be necessary.
32. '*discover*'—find out. This use of the word is rare in Bacon, who generally uses it (see note 21 above) for *disclose*; also note 16, Essay V.
33. '*fair*'—simply, quietly.

'Fair fall (*i.e.* quietly rest) the bones that took the pains for me'—*King John*.

34. '*freedom of thought.*' Instead of criticising the speaker in words, they keep silent, but criticise him all the more severely in their thoughts.
35. '*round*'—direct, precise, straightforward. See note 28, Essay I. The figure is evidently borrowed from archery.

36. 'conceits'—thoughts, opinions, conceptions.
 37. 'composition and temperature'—using and habit, or combination and blending.
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ANALYSIS OF ESSAY VI.

- I. Dissimulation is a mark of weakness.
 - II. Secrecy—
 - 1. Exacts confession.
 - 2. Is comely and decent (*like clothing*).
 - 3. Checks vanity.
 - 4. Prevents betrayal.
 - III. Dissimulation is often a necessary consequence of secrecy.
 - IV. Simulation—
 - 1. Is more culpable.
 - 2. When habitual is a real vice.
 - V. Advantages of simulation and dissimulation :
 - 1. They lay asleep opposition.
 - 2. They secure a man a safe retreat.
 - 3. They help one to find out the mind of another.
 - VI. Their disadvantages :
 - 1. They prevent promptness in any business.
 - 2. Deprive a man of co-operation.
 - 3. Make trust and belief impossible.
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VII.—OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

(1612, *enlarged* 1625.)

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears ; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not¹ utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter ; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation² is common to beasts ; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper³ to men : and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations⁴ have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express⁵ the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed ; so the care of posterity⁶ is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers⁷ of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not

only of their kind, but of their work;⁸ and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several⁹ children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, '*A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.*'¹⁰ A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected,¹¹ and the youngest made wantons;¹² but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best.

The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit¹³ more when they come to plenty: and, therefore, the proof¹⁴ is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse.

Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and school-masters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth¹⁵ to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman, more than his own parent, as the blood happens.

Let parents choose betimes¹⁶ the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness¹⁷ of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, '*Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.*'¹⁸

Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

NOTES ON ESSAY VII.

1. 'nor they will not.' As a rule in English, two negatives make an affirmative, because the second negative neutralises the first; but here the sentence remains negative and the repetition merely gives emphasis.
 'You may *deny* that you were *not* the cause'—*Richard III.*
 'He *denied* you had in him *no* right'—*Comedy of Errors.*
2. 'perpetuity by generation'—continuous propagation of animals, their offspring in due course becoming parents themselves. He says that the having children to survive us is merely a part of our animal life and which we possess in common with other animals, but that the true offspring a man should seek to leave behind him is a name worthy to be remembered ('*memory*'), a good character and example ('*merit*') and deeds, the happy results of which cannot die with him ('*good works*').
3. 'proper'—peculiar, naturally and essentially belonging to one. The word is used in contradistinction to *common*, just as in grammar *proper* and *common substantives*.
4. 'foundations'—endowments, endowed institutions; such as schools, hospitals, churches. Bacon speaks here with prejudice, being himself a childless man; it is of course only natural that men who have no family cares should have more time and means than others at their disposal to devote to the benefit of posterity, but yet many of the best, greatest, and most permanently influential men the world has known have been fathers of families.
5. 'to express'—to give expression to, to make apparent.
6. 'so the care of posterity'—thus we see that anxiety to benefit those who shall come after us, etc.
7. 'raisers'—founders.
8. 'kind . . . work'—family or kin . . . and deeds. In the next sentence '*children*' corresponds to '*kind*,' and '*creatures*' to '*work*.'
9. 'several'—separate, different. See note 7, Essay VI.
10. *Prov.* x, 11. Bacon refers to this passage again (*De Augmentis*, viii), and explains it to mean, that a wise and prudent son is more valued and appreciated by his father than by his mother, but that when a son proves vicious and wicked the sorrow and shame are felt more by his mother, '*conscious perhaps that she has spoiled and corrupted him by her indulgence.*'
11. 'respected'—regarded, considered, attended to, not neglected. The word as used here does not involve any notion of reverence, as in our modern usage. So in *King Lear* Cordelia says:

'Since that *respects* of fortune are his love,
I shall not be his wife.'

12. 'made wantons'—rendered dissolute through indulgence ; become loose and unrestrained.
13. 'surfeit'—become riotous and gluttonous.
14. 'proof'—result.
15. 'sorteth'—leads to, results in, turns out to be. It comes from the Latin *sors*, a lot drawn out or shaken out, and is akin to *sortie*. For Bacon's other use of the verb *to sort* see a few lines above, and also note 5, Essay VI.
16. 'betimes'—early, literally *by times*; like *beside*, i.e. *by the side*, *betwixt*, *between*.
17. 'affection or aptness'—liking or natural ability (for a certain calling).
18. 'Choose what is best, custom will make it easy and pleasant.' This appears to be a saying of Pythagoras preserved by Plutarch (*De Exilio*, c. 8). But Bp. Jeremy Taylor, in his *Holy Living*, quotes as if from Seneca, '*Elige optimam vitam, consuetudo faciet jucundissimam.*'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY VII.

- I. The evils of parentage :
 1. Children intensify sorrows and anxieties.
 2. They give less opportunity for noble works.
- II. Faults of parents towards their children :
 1. Unequal affection.
 2. Illiberality.
 3. Encouragement of emulation.
 4. Unwise choice of future vocation.
- III. 'Younger brothers are commonly fortunate.'

VIII.—OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

(1612, *slightly enlarged in 1625.*)

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages¹ to Fortune ; for they are impediments² to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means³ have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason⁴ that those that have

children should have greatest care of⁵ future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences;⁶ nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges;⁷ nay, more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because⁸ they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard some talk, '*Such an one is a great rich man,*' and another except⁹ to it, '*Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;*' as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous¹⁰ minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near¹¹ to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition.¹² A single life doth well with Churchmen,¹³ for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent¹⁴ for Judges and Magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For¹⁵ Soldiers, I find the Generals commonly, in their hortatives,¹⁶ put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base.

Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust,¹⁷ yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe Inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon.

Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, '*Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati.*'¹⁸

Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of

the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous.

Wives are young men's mistresses,¹⁹ companions for middle age, and old men's nurses, so as²⁰ a man may have a quarrel²¹ to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men²² that made answer to the question when a man should marry: '*A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.*'

It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this²³ never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

NOTES ON ESSAY VIII.

1. '**hostages**'—pledges or securities entrusted to an enemy. He means that a married man is entirely in the hands of Fortune, because his wife and children are pledges in her keeping, and she can punish *them* for his misdeeds and mistakes, so that they hamper him and prevent him from undertaking 'great enterprises.' The single man succeeds or falls alone: the married man involves others with him in his success or failure. In the same way, a few lines below, he speaks of children as '*dearest pledges*.'
2. '**impediments**'—hindrances, obstacles; literally *things which impede*, i.e. *entangle the feet* (Latin *pedes*).
Here again Bacon, who perhaps was not fortunate in his own married life, makes a general statement that is unwarrantable. History, both national and domestic, records numberless instances in which wives and children have been the very opposite to *impediments*.
3. '**affection and means**'—patriotism and liberality; the former of which has been a kind of marriage of the public, and the latter an endowment of the public.
4. '**it were great reason**'—it would seem most reasonable and natural.
5. '**care of**'—anxiety respecting. The antecedent to the pronoun '*which*' following, is '*times*.'
6. '**impertinences**'—things which do not *pertain* to them, or concern them. Thus, an *impertinent remark* is not neces-

sarily a *rude* remark, but one which is *irrelevant*, not *pertaining* to the subject in hand.

7. 'bills of charges'—items of expense.
8. 'because'—in order that.
9. 'except'—take exception, disagree, deny.
10. 'humorous'—capricious, whimsical, eccentric. The word here refers to any humour: in modern days, however, we have restricted its signification to a playful humour.
11. 'as they will go near'—that they will almost.
12. 'condition'—state of life (*i.e.* they are unmarried).

The reader will doubtless be reminded of the exception of Macduff in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, who deserted his wife and children, and fled to England:

'Why in that rawness left you wife and child—
Those precious motives, those strong knots of love?'

13. 'Churchmen'—clergymen. Bacon, like Queen Elizabeth, was in favour of the celibacy of the clergy. The meaning of the illustration Bacon uses, is that a married clergyman must devote his means mainly to his family ('*pool*'), while a celibate can distribute it in charitable help to others ('*water the ground*').
14. 'indifferent'—of no consequence either way. He means that if a judge is himself easy to be influenced in his administration, and open to bribes, it makes little difference whether he is married or single, for in the one case his wife, in the other some one of his servants, will encourage the corruption and benefit by it. In most cases, however, he says, a corrupt servant is more mischievous than a wife who takes bribes.
15. 'for'—preposition=*as regards* (not the conjunction *for*=because).
16. 'hortatives'—addresses, exhortations.
17. 'exhaust'—for *exhausted*. It appears to have been a rule, naturally suggested by euphony, that when a verb ended in a *d* or *t* sound, it was not necessary to add the usual termination *d* or *ed* to make either the regular past tense or the perfect participle. Thus we have '*incarnate*' for *incarnated* in the Creed. Shakespeare's writings abound with examples of this:

'These things, indeed, you have *articulate*'—*1 Henry IV.*

'He was *contract* to Lady Lucy'—*Richard III.*

'And I of ladies most *deject* and wretched'—*Hamlet.*

'The iron, of itself, though *heat* red-hot'—*King John.*

'The very rats instinctively had *quit* it'—*Tempest.*

'An *ingraft* infirmity'—*Othello.*

18. 'He preferred his aged wife to immortality.'

19. 'mistresses'—*i.e.*, as we should say, *sweethearts*. He means that the wife is valued in early wedded days *for love*, later on *for companionship*, and at last *for her care and attendance* in infirmity.
20. 'so as'—so that.
21. 'quarrel'—pretext, excuse. So also in Essay XXIX: 'The Turk hath at hand for cause of war the propagation of his law or sect, a *quarrel* that he may always command.'
22. 'one of the wise men.' He refers to Thales (about B.C. 640 to 545), one of the so-called seven wise men of Greece. The story is preserved of him both by Diogenes Laertius (i, 26), and by Plutarch (*Symp. Probl.*, iii, 6), that being urged by his mother, but against his own will, to marry, he put her off by saying that it was too soon; and afterwards when she renewed her importunities, he said it was too late.
23. 'this'—*i.e.* that wives take a pride in their patience. If against advice and entreaty a good wife has married a bad husband, she will never complain of it, for that would be to acknowledge and expose her own previous folly.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY VIII.

- I. Arguments against marriage:
 1. By increasing risk it deters from 'great enterprises.'
 2. Some 'account wife and children but as bills of charges.'
 3. Single life secures more liberty.
 4. Friends, masters, servants, clergymen, are best unmarried: perhaps, however, not so with soldiers.
 - II. Argument for marriage, viz., that it is a '*discipline of humanity*.'
 - III. Probable issue of marriage (surmising that there is always a pretext for it):
 1. Grave men make loving husbands.
 2. Chaste women often make proud wives.
 3. A jealous husband forfeits his wife's respect.
 4. Bad husbands often have very good wives.
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IX.—OF ENVY. (1625.)

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted¹ to fascinate or bewitch but Love and Envy:² they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily

into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy '*an evil eye*,'⁸ and the astrologers call the evil influences⁴ of the stars '*evil aspects* ;'⁵ so that still⁶ there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of Envy, an ejaculation,⁷ or irradiation of the eye : nay, some have been so curious⁸ as to note that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph ; for that sets an edge upon Envy ; and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others, what persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and what is the difference between public and private Envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others, for men's minds will either feed upon their own good or upon others' evil ; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other ; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to come at even hand⁹ by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy¹⁰ and inquisitive is commonly envious ; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado¹¹ may concern his own estate ; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure¹² in looking upon the fortunes of others : neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for Envy ; for Envy is a gadding passion ; and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home : '*Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus*.'¹³

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise, for the distance is altered ; and it is like a deceit¹⁴ of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards,¹⁵ are envious ; for he that cannot possibly mend

his own case will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that¹⁶ it should be said, '*That a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters,*' affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses¹⁷ the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out¹⁸ with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity¹⁹ and vain-glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work: it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian²⁰ the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein²¹ to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note²² of others; and Envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on.²³ Thus much for those that are apt to Envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to Envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied, for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, Envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no Envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas,

contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for²⁴ by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not so much added to their fortune; and Envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.²⁵

Those that have joined with their honour great travels,²⁶ cares, or perils, are less subject to Envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth Envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*;²⁷ not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of Envy; but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves;²⁸ for nothing increaseth Envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish Envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and Envy.

Above all, those are most subject to Envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner, being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to Envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose,²⁹ to be crossed³⁰ and overborne in things that do not much concern them.³¹ Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage³² of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy

and vain-glory) doth draw less Envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion ; for in that³³ course a man doth but disavow Fortune,³⁴ and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of Envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of Envy but the cure of witchcraft ; and that is, to *remove the lot*³⁵ (as they call it), and to lay it upon another ; for which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive³⁶ the Envy that would come upon themselves ; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like ; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking³⁷ natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public Envy : there is yet some good in public Envy, whereas in private there is none ; for public Envy is an ostracism,³⁸ that eclipseth men when they grow too great ; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This Envy,³⁹ being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment*, of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection ; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so, when Envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour ; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions,⁴⁰ for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of Envy, which⁴¹ hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public Envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers rather than upon kings and estates⁴² themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the Envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in

him is small, or if the Envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the Envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public Envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private Envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of Envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune⁴³ and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, '*Invidia festos dies non agit*:'⁴⁴ for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that Love and Envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called '*The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*;'⁴⁵ as it always cometh to pass that Envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

NOTES ON ESSAY IX.

1. 'noted'—observed, seen.
2. 'Envy.' Envy is a grudging and malignant feeling aroused by seeing another's superiority or success.

In ancient times (and indeed many traces of it still remain among us) envy was supposed to be a powerful and really mischievous influence possessed by the person who envied, and the instrument or means of the enchantment was the eye, hence called the *evil eye*. The history of the word *envy* shows this; it is derived through the French *envie*, from the Latin *invidia*, which comes from the verb *invideo* = *to look askance*, or *to look with an evil eye*. There can be no doubt that the foolish and unkind prejudices which many people still feel, and often express, against those who are unfortunate enough to *squint* is a relic of the belief that such persons had this power of the evil eye.

In some parts of Ireland, children or cattle who fall suddenly ill are said to be *eye-bitten*, and the fault is laid at the door of *eye-biting witches*. The same, doubtless, holds true of places in England and Scotland.

There are still people who are cruel and superstitious enough to attribute every mischance or difficulty, even in such simple matters as churning butter or trying to light a fire, to the influence of the evil eye, and various charms have been recommended for counteracting the mischief. Probably the common practice, of placing the poker to lean against a fire that will not burn up, is supposed to be efficacious in undoing the effects of some evil eye that has looked at the fire, because it makes the sign of the cross with the bars of the grate.

The belief in the evil eye has prevailed even from ancient times and in all parts of the world. St Paul alludes to it in *Gal. iii, 1*: '*O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?*' (*ὁμᾶς ἐβδόκαρεν.*) An earlier reference is in *Ecclus. xiv, 8-10*: '*The envious man hath a wicked eye.*' Virgil refers to it in *eclogue iii*:

'Nescio quis teneros oculos mihi fascinat agnos.'

In Egypt the belief is still common, and the Turks firmly believe in the evil eye of an enemy or infidel, seeking to avert its ill effects from themselves by painting passages from the *Koran* before their houses, and from their horses by rich and superfluous caparison.

The first paragraph in this essay shows that Bacon believed in this bewitching power of the evil eye. Of several other interesting passages from his works bearing on the same subject, we have space to refer to one only, from his *Natural History*: '*Envy emiteth some malign and poisonous spirit which taketh hold of the spirit of another, and is likewise of greater force when the cast of the eye is oblique.*'

3. *Mark vii, 22.*

4. 'influences'—flowings; streams. So in *L'Allegro*, Milton speaks of

'Store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize.'

5. 'evil aspects'—evil lookings at us. The supposed influence of the stars in doing men harm is still preserved in the word *disaster*.

6. 'still'—always. So in *Essay XI*: '*Old townsmen that will be still sitting at their street door.*'

'He whom the disease of talking *still* once possesseth,
Can never hold his peace'—BEN JONSON.

'Men run *still* to a crowd in the streets, though only to see'—TEMPLE.

'A generation of *still-breeding* thoughts'—*Richard II.*

'A *still-soliciting* eye'—*King Lear*.

'Thou *still* hast been the author of good tidings'—*Hamlet*.

7. 'ejaculation'—something thrown out.
8. 'curious'—inquisitive; minutely careful; precise about details.
So in the next paragraph, '*curiosities*' are things to be looked into and examined minutely.
9. 'to come at even hand'—to be even with him.
10. 'busy'—prying; meddlesome. The same meaning is contained in the compound '*busy-body*.'
11. 'ado'—trouble; labour; fuss. Used as a substantive, but really another form of the verb *to do*.
12. 'play-pleasure'—theatrical pleasure; pleasures one finds in *gazing* at a theatrical performance.
13. '*There is no meddlesome man who is not also malevolent.*' The quotation is from *Plautus*, a Roman comic poet, B.C. 255 to 184.
14. 'deceit'—deception (just as he uses *conceit* for *conception*).
15. 'bastards'—*i.e.* literally *base-born persons*. An apt example of an envious bastard is Edmund in *King Lear*; of a bastard of '*very brave and heroic nature*,' Richard Faulconbridge in *King John*.
16. 'in that'—in order that. 'Affecting'—making affectation or pretence of.
17. 'Narses'—a eunuch in the service of the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople, who rose to high dignities and performed some famous military exploits; he vanquished the Goths, conquered Rome, and rescued Italy from the Ostrogoths; died A.D. 568.
18. 'Ageasilaus'—king of Sparta, B.C. 398 to 361.
19. 'Tamerlane,' more properly called Timur or Timur-Beg, was a famous Mogul Sultan (A.D. 1336 to 1405). He successfully invaded Persia, Turkestan, Southern Russia, India (making a triumphal entry into Delhi), and died while on a similar expedition against China.
18. 'fallen out'—become unfriendly; on bad terms with.
19. 'levity'—fickleness; changeableness; want of perseverance.
20. 'Adrian,' or Hadrian, Roman emperor, A.D. 117 to 138. He favoured literature and the arts, and carried out many great architectural works. It is said that because the architect Apollodorus spoke ill of one of his plans for a temple, he banished him, and eventually had him put to death.
21. 'vein'—natural ability.
22. 'incurrerth . . . more into the note'—comes more prominently forward into our notice. The verb *incur* (analogous to *recur*, *occur*, *concur*) now generally means *to run against* or *run into*, but here it means *to run forth*; *to obtrude itself*.
23. 'nobody to look on.' He means that Cain's envy was the more contemptible and inexcusable, because, when his brother Abel was preferred to him, he was not subjected to any public disgrace, for no one knew of it but themselves.

24. 'for.' It can hardly be said that Bacon here gives a good reason for the statement he has made, and indeed many of the general propositions advanced in this essay are unwarrantable as such, though doubtless in making them he had always in view some particular exemplifications from which he made a rough and hasty generalisation. Thus in the preceding paragraph, when he speaks of the envy of '*near kinsfolk*,' he must be referring to personal experience, perhaps to himself and his cousin Cecil.

The only sense in which Bacon's statement here can be received as generally true is, that from unworthy persons we expect little, and from those whom we approve of we expect too much in their advancement, and thus in both cases are often deceived.

25. '*per saltum*'—*by a jump, i.e. all at once.*
 26. '*travels*'—labours. French *travail*. So in Milton (*Paradise Lost*):

'What think'st thou of our empire now, though earn'd
 With *travel* difficult?'

27. '*quanta patimur*'—*what great things we suffer.*
 28. '*call unto themselves*'—do voluntarily and unnecessarily; make for themselves.
 29. '*of purpose*'—purposely; intentionally.
 30. '*crossed*'—thwarted; disappointed.
 31. '*do not much concern them*'—are not regarded as of much consequence.
 32. '*carriage*'—bearing; manner of carrying; behaviour and demeanour under.
 33. '*that*'—the latter.
 34. '*disavow Fortune*'—tries to conceal or disown the fact that Fortune has been undeservedly favourable to him.
 35. '*remove the lot*'—*i.e., as we sometimes say, change the luck.* In witchcraft the omen or *lot* which foretold impending mischief was regarded also as the cause of it, and to avert the mischief (which was considered inevitable) it was necessary not to destroy the omen but to get rid of it, *i.e. transfer it to some one else*. Thus some people foolishly believe that what is called a crowing hen is a sure sign of a death, which also cannot be avoided by killing the hen but only by transferring it and its accompanying ill-omen to the possession of some one else.
 36. '*derive*'—to turn aside; to drain off from (Latin *de* and *rivus*).
 37. '*undertaking*'—venturesome; willing to incur risk.

'It is the cowish terror of his spirit
 That dares not *undertake*'—*King Lear.*

38. '*ostracism*'—an institution among the Athenians designed to afford a means for quietly removing from the State, with-

out special accusation, any obnoxious person or powerful party-leader whose presence was considered dangerous. If in any case the senate determined that ostracism was necessary, a day was fixed for the voting, and each citizen wrote on a piece of tile or an oyster-shell (*ostrakon*) the name of the person whom he wished to banish; and if six thousand votes were recorded against any one man, he had to withdraw from the city within ten days, and to remain in exile ten (afterwards *five*) years. Ostracism was instituted by *Cleisthenes* about B.C. 510.

39. 'This Envy'—*i.e.* public envy.
40. 'intermingling of plausible actions'—carefulness to mix up with those actions that are likely to cause envy, others which will be *applauded*.
41. 'which'—*i.e.* the fear (hurteth, etc.).
42. 'estates'—noblemen; persons of high rank. '*Herod made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee*'—*Mark* vi, 21.
43. 'importune'—importunate; never at rest.
44. '*Envy keeps no holidays.*'
45. *Matt.* xiii, 25.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY IX.

- I. Envy is—
 1. A bewitching affection, like love.
 2. Most injurious in time of prosperity.
- II. Persons apt to be envious :
 1. Those without virtue.
 2. Busy and inquisitive men.
 3. Men of noble birth towards rising men.
 4. Those under irreparable disadvantage (*deformed persons, eunuchs, bastards*).
 5. Men who rise after misfortune.
 6. Those desiring to excel in many matters.
 7. Kinsfolks and fellows in office.
- III. Persons apt to be envied :

1. Those of eminent virtue when advanced. 2. Those of noble blood when they rise. 3. Those advanced by degrees. 4. Those who have earned advancement. 5. Those who are insolent and proud in success. <i>More.</i>	}	Less.
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Remark—The cure of envy is '*to remove the lot.*'
- IV. Public envy—
 1. Has some good in it, like ostracism.
 2. It is foolish to try to avoid it by intermingling plausible actions,

3. It fastens upon officers and ministers rather than upon kings and estates.

Remark—Envy is incessant, wasting, and subtle.

X.—OF LOVE. (1612, re-written 1625.)

THE stage is more beholding¹ to Love than the life of man ; for as to the stage, Love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren,² sometimes like a Fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of Love ; which shows that great spirits³ and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius,⁴ the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the Decemvir and lawgiver ; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate ; but the latter was an austere and wise man : and therefore it seems (though rarely) that Love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept.

It is a poor saying of Epicurus, '*Satis magnum alteri theatrum sumus* ;'⁵ as if man, made for the contemplation of Heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol,⁶ and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes.

It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things⁷ by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in Love ; neither is it merely in the phrase,⁸ for whereas it hath been well said, '*That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self*,' certainly the lover is more ; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well

of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, '*That it is impossible to love and to be wise.*'⁹ Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the Love be reciproque;¹⁰ for it is a true rule, that Love is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself.

As for the other losses, the poet's relation¹¹ doth well figure them: '*That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas;*'¹² for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous Affection, quitteth both Riches and Wisdom.

This passion hath his floods¹³ in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle Love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of Folly.

They do best who, if they cannot but admit Love, yet make it keep quarter,¹⁴ and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check¹⁵ once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways¹⁶ be true to their own ends.

I know not how, but martial men are given to Love: I think it is, but as they are given¹⁷ to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures.

There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards Love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars.

Nuptial Love maketh mankind, friendly Love perfecteth it, but wanton Love corrupteth and embaseth it.

NOTES ON ESSAY X.

- I. '**beholding**'—more properly '*beholden*,' *i.e.* under obligation, indebted, held bound by gratitude. So also in Essay LIV:

'Virtue was never so beholding to human nature.' And Fuller says: 'Oxford hath been much beholding to her nephew or sister's children.'

'Beholden' is the passive participle (like *sunken*, *wroughten*) of the verb *to behold*, used in the primitive sense of *hold*.

'Little are we *beholden* to your love,
And little looked for at your helping hand'—SHAKESPEARE.

'I think myself mightily *beholden* to you for the reprehension you then gave us'—ADDISON.

Bacon's simple meaning is that Love has contributed more to the success of stage-plays than to the real benefits of life, having formed excellent plots for comedies and tragedies, but having had mischievous effects upon the life of man.

2. '**Siren**' '**Fury**.' The Sirens were supposed to be sea-nymphs who had the power of charming by their songs all who heard them, and so luring them to their death.

The Furies (called by euphemism *Eumenides*) were avenging deities, with terrible powers of punishment both in this world and after death.

Bacon means that Love has sometimes lured and sometimes goaded men to ruin; sometimes drawing them with the bait of pleasure, sometimes goading them with the madness of disappointment and jealousy.

3. '**great spirits**'—noble and lofty purposes in life, which (Bacon thinks) would be spoiled by Love.
4. '**Marcus Antonius**' (*Mark Antony*) was in early life a profligate. After the murder of Julius Cæsar, Antony, Octavius (*Augustus*), and Lepidus constituted the first triumvirate, and he afterwards married Octavia, the sister of Augustus.
- '**Appius Claudius**'—the decemvir whose wicked attempt upon the maiden Virginia is popularly known through Lord Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. In what sense he can be called a '*wise man*' it is not easy to ascertain.
5. '*We are each a sufficiently great theatre to one another.*' Bacon means to complain of this, calling it a '*poor saying*,' and one which would restrict to the grovelling (!) contemplation of men themselves, thoughts which are capable of scanning 'heaven and all noble objects.'

The saying attributed to Epicurus, which Bacon seems to misunderstand, reminds one of Pope's line, in his *Essay on Man*: '*The proper study for mankind is man.*'

6. '**little idol**'—i.e. a petty, grovelling fellow-creature.

Love, says Bacon, makes a man a slave not to his appetite (like a beast), in which the object of his worship is *himself*, but to his *eye*, which sets up for his adoration one of his fellow-creatures; when, at the same time, that eye was given him for the purpose of showing him objects far more worthy of his devotion.

7. 'braves the nature and value of things'—insults, by its gross exaggerations; disregards and treats with contempt things as they really are.

'He upbraids Iago that he made him
Brave me upon my watch'—*Othello*.

'My nobles leave me, and my state is braved,
Even at my gates, with ranks of foreign powers'—*King John*.

The exaggerations common in the intercourse of lovers constitute the '*perpetual hyperbole*' mentioned immediately after; hyperbole being a figure of speech consisting in exaggerated language.

8. 'in the phrase'—in the language used; it is not that the lover flatters and exaggerates in speech alone; he does the same in thought also.
9. *Publii Syri. Sent.*, 15: '*Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur.*'
10. 'reciproque'—reciprocal.
11. 'relation'—narration, account.
12. He is referring to the famous '*judgment of Paris*.' When about to award the golden apple 'to the fairest,' Pallas offered him *knowledge*, and Juno offered him *power*, but he refused them and chose Venus's gift of *love*. After having deserted his own wife Ceneone, and met with many adventures, he carried off and married Helen, the beautiful wife of Menelaus, and hence arose the Trojan war.
- For the English reader this is beautifully narrated by Tennyson in his poem *Ceneone*.
13. 'hath his floods'—rushes forth over its usual bounds with overwhelming power.
14. 'keep quarter'—remain within proper limits. The word *quarter*, which really means a fourth part, is here used locally and for any assigned part. In its military usage *quarter* (more commonly in the plural, *quarters*) is the name for the lodging-place of soldiers, or officers; to *keep quarter* is to remain in that place; to *give quarter* is to afford shelter in that place.
15. 'check'—clash, interfere. The use of the word is no doubt derived from the game of chess.
16. 'no ways'—in no way, in no manner. The word *ways*, though used adverbially, is really possessive case (singular); the phrase *now-a-days* is of the same kind.
17. 'given'—addicted.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY X.

- I. The folly of love :
1. 'Great and worthy men' have kept free from it.
 2. It is a contemptible idolatry.

3. It grossly distorts and exaggerates truth.
4. It deprives a man of the gifts of Juno and Pallas (riches and wisdom).

II. Observations respecting love :

1. It is most powerful in times of weakness (viz. great prosperity and adversity).
2. When irresistible, it ought to be kept within proper limits.
3. Soldiers' love is the compensation for peril sought in pleasure.
4. Individual love should be allowed to expand into general love.
5. Love is either friendly, nuptial, or wanton.

XI.—OF GREAT PLACE. (1612, *slightly enlarged*
1625.)

MEN in great place are thrice servants¹—servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business ; so as² they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self.

The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains³ men come to greater pains ; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities⁴ men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing : '*Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.*'⁵ Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason ;⁶ but are impatient⁷ of privateness⁸ even in age and sickness, which require the shadow ; like old townsmen, that will be still⁹ sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn.

Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it : but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain¹⁰ be as they are, then they are happy—as it were by report¹¹—when, per-

haps, they find the contrary within ; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle¹² of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. '*Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*'¹³

In place there is license to do good and evil ; whereof the latter is a curse : for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can.¹⁴ But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring ; for good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act ; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is¹⁵ the end of man's motion ; and conscience¹⁶ of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest : for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre,¹⁷ he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. '*Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis ;*' and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples ; for imitation is a globe of precepts ;¹⁸ and after a time set before thee thine own example ; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place ; not to set off thyself by taxing¹⁹ their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid.

Reform, therefore, without bravery²⁰ or scandal²¹ of former times and persons ; but yet set it down to thyself,²² as well to create good precedents as to follow them.

Reduce²³ things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate ;²⁴ but yet ask counsel of both times—of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest.

Seek to make thy course regular,²⁵ that men may know beforehand what they may expect ; but be not too posi-

tive and peremptory ; and express thyself well ²⁶ when thou digressest from thy rule.

Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction ; and rather assume thy right in silence, and *de facto*, than voice it ²⁷ with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places ; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all.

Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place ; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

The vices of authority are chiefly four : delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access ; ²⁸ keep times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not ²⁹ business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering ; for integrity used doth the one ; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other ; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption : therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. ³⁰ A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, ³¹ and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. ³² For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent : severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, ³³ it is worse than bribery ; for bribes come but now and then ; but if importunity or idle respects ³⁴ lead a man, he shall never be without ; as Solomon saith, '*To respect persons is not good ; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*' ³⁵

It is most true that was anciently spoken : '*A place sheweth the man ;*' ³⁶ and it sheweth some to the better

and some to the worse: '*Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*,' saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith: '*Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius*;' ³⁷ though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; ³⁸ for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self ³⁹ whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible ⁴⁰ or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, '*When he sits in place, he is another man*,'

NOTES ON ESSAY XI.

1. '**thrice servants**'—servants in three separate respects. The words following exemplify this: in their *persons* they have to serve the *sovereign*; their *actions* cannot be free, for their *reputation* brings all they do under *public criticism*; and the claims of business engross every moment of their *time*.
2. '**so as**'—so that. A usage common in Shakespeare:

'He finds the testy gentleman so hot
As he will lose his head ere give consent'—*Richard III.*

'You shall be so received,
As you shall deem yourself lodg'd in my heart'—*Love's Labour's Lost*
3. '**pains**'—toils, labours. Great public men can enjoy no rest, because everything they do imposes the necessity for doing something else; every ascent they reach discloses another ascent beyond.
4. '**indignities**'—unworthy means; '**dignities**'—positions of honour.
5. '*When you are no longer what you have been, there is no longer*

reason why you should wish to live.' The quotation is from *Cicero. Epist. Fam.*, vii, 3.

6. 'reason'—reasonable. So in *Acts* vi, 2: '*It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God and serve tables.*'
7. 'impatient'—unable to bear with composure; fretful, restless.
8. 'privateness'—private life, the quietude and retirement of which is compared in the next sentence to *shade*. Public life is lived in a blaze of sunlight (Tennyson, *Dedication of Idylls*, '*That fierce light which beats upon a throne*'); private life is like the cool grateful shade into which a man may retire and find rest.
9. 'still'—always. See note 6, Essay IX.
10. 'fain'—gladly; an adverb generally following the auxiliary *would*.

'*Fain would I woo her; yet indeed I dare not*'—SHAKESPEARE.

'And in her hand she held a mirror bright,
Wherein her face she often viewed *fain*'—Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

11. 'by report'—in the estimation of others, not in their own experience; said to be happy, but not really happy.
12. 'puzzle'—embarrassment. Perhaps, like *poser* (=a question which puzzles), from the verb *pose*.
13. '*Death lies heavy on him who, too well-known to others, dies a stranger to himself.*' Quoted from Seneca, *Thyest.*, ii, 401.
14. 'to can'—used here as a notional verb for *to be able*.

'I've seen myself, and served against, the French,
And they *can* well on horseback'—*Hamlet*.

15. 'is'—the nominative is '*end*' (singular); *merit* and *works* are in apposition. The number of the copulative verb is determined by that of its nominative; while the nominative in apposition may be singular or plural.
16. 'conscience'—consciousness.
17. 'God's theatre'—God's *contemplation* of the works He had finished. 'If a man works so as to be able to look back with satisfaction upon his work, as God did, then he has earned a right to participate in God's rest.' A theatre is, according to the derivation of its name (*θεατρον*, to see or view), a place for *shows* before *spectators*. We still speak of going to see a *play*, and the French call it *spectacle*. The quotation is taken, but not accurately, from *Gen.* i, 31.
18. 'globe of precepts'—an embodiment and practical representation of advice; a great deal of advice compressed into a small compass. The same meaning is contained in our common saying that *example is better than precept*.
19. 'taxing'—traducing, charging, accusing. Cf. 'They *taxed* him with it.' Dryden says: '*Men's virtues I have commended as freely as I have taxed their crimes.*'

20. 'bravery'—ostentation, boastfulness, bravado.
 21. 'scandal'—scandalising, traducing, defaming.
 22. 'set it down to thyself'—accustom thyself; set it down as a rule to be followed.
 23. 'reduce'—used in its etymological sense for *lead back, trace back*.
 24. 'degenerate'—for *degenerated*. See note 17, Essay VIII. In the distinction which Bacon makes between the 'best' and the 'fittest,' he implies that men had deteriorated, so that what was once best, in good times gone by, could not be attained to now, and must be replaced by *what is fittest, i.e.* the best which a degenerate time will admit of.
 25. 'regular'—consistent.
 26. 'express thyself well'—clearly explain why you are diverging from your usual rule.
 27. 'voice it'—demand it noisily; proclaim it aloud.
 28. 'easy access'—facilities for interviews with thyself.
 29. 'interlace not'—do not mix different businesses together, trying to do several things at the same time.
 30. 'to steal it'—to do it by stealth, to perform it secretly. Thus, in the *Taming of the Shrew*, Lucentio says to his servaat :

'Were it not that my fellow schoolmaster
 Doth watch Bianca's steps so narrowly
 'Twere good, methinks, to steal our marriage.'

31. 'inward'—intimate, confidential, secret. '*All my inward friends abhorred me*'—*Job* xix, 19.
 32. 'a by-way to close corruption'—a side-path used as a convenient means of secret bribery.

'Constant you are,
 But yet a woman; and for secrecy
 No lady closer'—SHAKESPEARE.

33. 'facility'—easiness to be persuaded; readiness of compliance; pliancy; *but always in a bad sense*.
 34. 'idle respects'—foolish motives. See note 11, Essay VII. He means that if a man is swayed by foolish motives, he will never be without (such motives).
 35. *Prov.* xxviii, 21.
 36. It is not known from whom this quotation is made. It has been attributed to Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon, Bias, Epaminondas. It has the same meaning as the well-known passage in Shakespeare :

'It is the bright day that brings forth the adder,
 And that craves wary walking'—Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*.

37. '*By the consent of all he was fit for government if he had never ruled.*'
 '*Of all the emperors Vespasian alone was changed for the better.*'

- Bacon explains that the former sentence refers to '*sufficiency*' (*i.e.* administrative capacity), the latter to *moral improvement*.
38. The construction of this sentence is confused and faulty. The meaning is, 'The man who is really improved by advancement, shows thereby that he has a worthy and generous spirit.'
 39. '*side a man's self*'—join himself to a side or party (but desert it as soon as he has attained his object).
 40. '*sensible . . . remembering*'—conscious . . . obtrusive.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XI.

- I. Evils of great place :
 1. It is a threefold servitude.
 2. The rising is laborious, standing slippery—then regress or downfall.
 3. Its thralldom is perpetual: men cannot get rid of it.
 4. Its happiness consists only in the opinion of others.
 5. Its gives increased opportunity for evil as well as for good.
- II. Precepts to those in great place :
 1. Study examples, both good and evil.
 2. Reform modestly.
 3. Study the past history of things which have become abused.
 4. Act consistently and uniformly.
 5. Preserve your own rights (*quietly*) and those of your inferiors.
 6. Accept and seek advice of others.
- III. Vices of authority and their remedies :

1. Delays : the remedies are—	{	(a.) Easy access. (b.) Punctuality. (c.) Doing one thing at a time.
2. Corruption : the remedies are—	{	(a.) Prevent suitors from offering bribes. (b.) Do not be variable. (c.) Do not employ confidential servants.

 3. Roughness—a needless offence.
 4. Facility—a constant evil.
- IV. Concluding remarks :
 1. Great place brings out a man's virtue or vice. Galba—Vespasian.
 2. A man should take a side in rising.
 3. A man should avoid obtruding his public office into his private dealings.

XII.—OF BOLDNESS. (1625.)

IT¹ is a trivial² grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration :—Question was asked of Demosthenes, *What was the chief part³ of an orator ?*⁴ He answered, *Action.*⁵ *What next ?—Action. What next again ?—Action.* He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage⁶ in that⁷ he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest ; nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain :—there is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise ; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent.

Wonderful⁸ like is the case of Boldness in civil business ; what first ?—*Boldness* ; what second and third ?—*Boldness* : and yet Boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts : but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part ;⁹ yea, and prevaleth with wise men at weak times ; therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular States,¹⁰ but with Senates¹¹ and Princes less ; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after ; for Boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are Mountebanks¹² for the natural body, so are there Mountebanks for the politic body ; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out ; nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled : Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again ; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet*

will go to the hill.' So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of Boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn,¹³ and no more ado.

Certainly to men of great judgment,¹⁴ bold persons are a sport to behold ; nay, and to the vulgar also Boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous ; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great Boldness is seldom without some absurdity ; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance,¹⁵ for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must ; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come ; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay ; like a Stale¹⁶ at chess, where it is no Mate, but yet the game cannot stir ; but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation.

This is well to be weighed, that Boldness is ever blind ; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences : therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution ; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others ; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

NOTES ON ESSAY XII.

1. 'It.' The antecedent to this pronoun is the anecdote following, which is called a *text* because it is *quoted* in illustration of the subject in hand.
2. 'trivial'—common-place, well-known. The word is derived from the Latin *trivium*, the name anciently given to the three elementary studies of the schools—grammar, logic, and rhetoric ; the more advanced arts constituted the *quadrivium*—music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy ; and these made up together the seven liberal arts.
3. 'part'—talent, faculty, necessary qualification. So, a little further on, he tells us that boldness is '*inferior to other parts.*'
4. 'orator.' Oratory or rhetoric is the use of language in such a way as to make it effective in persuading the hearers to a certain opinion. The great thing aimed at is *effect*, and the

truth or correctness is of secondary importance, and valued only so far as it conduces to the result the orator desires to bring about.

The reader will notice a few lines below that it is to *oratory* in this sense that Bacon refers; and he compares it to boldness, spoken of in a bad sense for *impudence* or *shamelessness*.

5. '**action**'—including all the accompaniments to the delivery of a speech, not only gesticulation or appropriate movement of the hands and body, but management of the voice and features.
6. '**no advantage**.' Demosthenes (B.C. 385-322) was certainly the greatest orator of antiquity. At the age of seventeen, when he first resolved to study eloquence, he had a weak voice, his speech was indistinct and inarticulate, and his gait and gestures were awkward. These natural impediments, however, he conquered by marvellous perseverance, and at length in the vigour and beauty of his eloquence surpassed all other orators.
7. '**in that**'—*in what*, or, *in that which*.
8. '**wonderful**'—for adverb *wonderfully*. We use the word merely as a strengthened form of *very*; but here it literally means that the resemblance is so close as to be a matter of positive *wonder*.
9. '**greatest part**'—most numerous.
10. '**popular States**'—democracies, republics, states governed by the people.
11. '**Senates**'—lit. assemblies of *aged* counsellors, and therefore less likely to be taken in by the mere gloss of oratory.
12. '**Mountebanks**.' A mountebank is really, as the name itself shows, one who *mounts a bench*. The name was applied to quacks or charlatans, who in markets or other public places boasted impudently of their skill in curing diseases, and deluded ignorant people into purchasing from them medicines represented as infallible remedies.
To such worthless impostors mere chance and good luck have often given a temporary run of success, but they fail ultimately, as Bacon says, through not knowing '*the grounds*' (*i.e.* principles) of science.
13. '**make a turn**'—*turn it off* (as we say), *i.e.* cleverly divert attention from the case of failure.
14. '**judgment**'—power of discrimination, insight.
15. '**out of countenance**'—put to shame by exposure.
16. '**Stale**'—probably connected with *still* and *stall*. This use of the word is derived from the game of chess, where it denotes the position of the king when, being required to move, though not in check, he cannot move without being placed in check.

The meaning seems to be that when a bashful or modest, but genuine, person is put out of countenance, his discomfiture is generally variable, and he has something to say, while an impudent person is often ludicrously and utterly staggered by exposure.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XII.

- I. As in oratory, action is everything ; so in civil business, boldness.
 - II. Why boldness is powerful (*being the child of ignorance and baseness*):
 1. It fascinates the shallow and weak among men, who are the most numerous.
 2. It often has temporary success (*as mountebanks*).
 3. Impudence helps it (*as in Mahomet's miracle*). Yet an impudent person, when discomfited, appears ludicrous.
 - III. The true use of boldness :
It is ill in counsel, good in execution.
-

XIII.—OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE. (1612, enlarged 1625.)

I TAKE Goodness in this sense, the affecting¹ of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call '*Philanthropia*;' ² and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature³ the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy,⁴ mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin.⁵ Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess but error.⁶ The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in Charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it.

The inclination to Goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto⁷ other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; inso-

much as Busbechius⁸ reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness⁹ a long-billed fowl.

Errors, indeed in this virtue, of Goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, '*Tanto buon che val niente*:'—'*So good that he is good for nothing*;' and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence¹⁰ to put in writing, almost in plain terms, '*That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust*;' which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion did so much magnify Goodness as the Christian religion doth.

Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies;¹¹ for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock¹² a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: '*He sendeth His rain, and maketh His sun to shine upon the just and the unjust*;' but He doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern;¹³ for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern: the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: '*Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*;' but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain.

Neither is there only a habit of Goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural Malignity:¹⁴ for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter

sort of Malignity turneth but to a crossness,¹⁵ or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief.¹⁶ Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season,¹⁷ and are ever on the loading part:¹⁸ not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still¹⁹ buzzing upon anything that is raw; *misanthropi*,²⁰ that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: such dispositions are the very errors of human nature,²¹ and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics²² of: like to knee timber,²³ that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm.

The parts and signs of Goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world,²⁴ and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree²⁵ that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot:²⁶ if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash;²⁷ but, above all, if he have St Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren,²⁸ it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

NOTES ON ESSAY XIII.

1. 'affecting'—aiming at, desiring. See note 4, Essay I.
2. 'Philanthropia,' in English *philanthropy*—a kindliness of disposition to one's fellow-men. The etymology of the other word, *humanity* (Latin *humanitas*, from *homo*, a man), would suggest very much the same meaning; but the former word is generally restricted to disposition cultivated towards men, while the latter is used also of our regard for dumb animals; and when used in reference to men, includes little more than

courtesy or refinement. This sense of the word is still retained in the designation *humanities*, in Scotland, of what we call *polite letters* (*literæ humaniores*). Bacon seems to use the word in this sense, for he says it is 'a little too light' to be equivalent to goodness.

3. 'Goodness of Nature' is the disposition or faculty of kindness (*i.e. benevolence*); goodness is the active and habitual exercise of that faculty (*i.e. beneficence*).
4. 'busy'—meddlesome; active in what does not concern him.
5. 'vermin'—small mischievous animals. Thus a farmer includes under this name not only rats, mice, and many insects, but rabbits, squirrels, weasels, stoats, etc. Cf. 'Wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and vermin'—*Acts x, 12* (*Geneva version*).
6. 'admits no excess but error.' A man cannot possibly be too kind, but he may make serious mistakes in the mode of exercising his kindness—the mistake being one not of excess but of misapplication. Kindness often dictates the infliction of very severe punishment, which it would be an error (what we call 'mistaken kindness') to shrink from. Another 'error' of goodness consists often in the relief which kind and well-meaning people give to those in want: unquestionably such relief often does harm by extending and perpetuating the condition which it is intended simply to help and improve. So long as lazy tramps and beggars are regarded as having a claim upon the kindness and support of society, merely as such, lazy tramps and beggars will of course continue and multiply under the encouragement which mistaken kindness affords to them. The great reason why modern charity is now so largely diverted from this kind of relief and applied to the relief of the sick, infirm, and disabled, is because in the latter case the exercise of charity does not tend to increase the objects upon which it is expended. If I give indiscriminate assistance to a tramp, I thereby encourage other persons to become tramps; but if I give food and help to a man who has broken his leg, it does not cause other men to break their legs.

It is instructive to observe how consistently the miracles recorded in the *New Testament* seem to have been regulated by some such consideration as this.

7. 'take unto'—become attached to, acquire a fondness for.
8. 'Busbechius'—a Latinised form of the name of *Augier Ghislain de Busbecq*, a celebrated diplomatist (1522-1592). He was sent by the Emperor Ferdinand I as ambassador to the Sultan Solymán II, at Constantinople, where he resided more than seven years. He left an admirable account of the Ottoman empire in a work entitled *Legationis Turcica Epistola Quatuor*.

9. 'waggishness'—fun, frolicsomeness; always involving, however, a slight notion of *mischief*.

No one can help remarking—not without astonishment and regret—that Bacon has, in this essay on *Goodness*, not one word to say in condemnation of the cruelty of the 'Christian boy;' indeed, the name by which he designates the act palliates it.

Bacon's rendering of the story is as incorrect as his tone with regard to it is unjustifiable. The offender was not a boy, but a Venetian goldsmith, who, when out fowling, caught a bird with a long bill, and which, by way of a joke, he fixed alive over his door, with a stick inserted in the mouth to keep the peak as wide open as possible. The Turks were very properly enraged, and, seizing the man, dragged him before a judge, and he hardly escaped with life.

It is not probable that the protection awarded in Eastern countries to cranes and dogs arises from any feeling of humanity, but because they are useful as devourers of offal.

10. 'confidence'—impudence. For an account of Machiavelli see note 31, Essay I. In this case Bacon seems most unjustly to misrepresent Machiavelli, quoting a passage, the meaning of which seems to be that *Christianity has done harm by its excessive inculcation of benevolence, which has exposed Christians to great injuries, without any means of protection.*

The reference seems to be to a passage (*Discourses*, ii, 2), in which Machiavelli is combating this very notion, respecting which he says, '*But that explication of our religion is erroneous, and they who made it were poor and pusillanimous, and more given to their ease than anything that is great. For if the Christian religion allows us to defend and exalt our country, it allows us certainly to love it and honour it, and prepare ourselves so as we may be able to defend it.*'

It is the statement Bacon attributes to Machiavelli, which he speaks of a line or two below as a 'scandal,' pointing out a 'danger.'

11. 'their faces or fancies'—anything in their countenances which chances to excite your interest.
12. 'Æsop's cock'—a fable of Phædrus (iii, 12). The meaning is: Let your benevolence take a form suitable to the wants and capacities of the person benefited; just as, says he, God gives the necessities of life ('*common benefits*') to all alike (*Matt.* v, 45), but the adornments ('*peculiar benefits*') only to a few.
13. *Take care not to break the vase in trying to adorn it with a beautiful painting.* The meaning is: Take care not to neglect duties that ought to come before benevolence; the rule should be—having provided for the discharge of all legitimate claims, let the remainder be dispensed in charity.

14. '**Malignity**'—*i.e.* as there is a natural benevolence and beneficence, so there is a natural malevolence and maleficence; the term *malignity* seems to include the two latter.
15. '**crossness**'—desire of thwarting; '**frowardness**'—obstinacy; '**aptness to oppose**'—disposition to go against what other persons wish; '**difficleness**'—intractability, the conduct of one who is difficult to deal with.
16. '**mere mischief**'—downright injuriousness. See note 16, Essay II.
17. '**in season**'—in their element, contented and happy. Another figure by which we express the same thing is the phrase '*at home*.'
18. '**loading part**'—on the side of aggravating the troubles of others.
19. '**still**'—always. See note 6, Essay IX.
20. '**misanthropi**' for *misanthropists*—*i.e.* haters of mankind, the opposite to *philanthropists*, or lovers of mankind.
 The reference is to Timon of Athens, who lived during the Peloponnesian war. Disappointments, and the faithlessness of friends, soured his nature, and led him to conceive a bitter hatred for all mankind, and he retired into solitude. A story preserved of him by Plutarch (from whom Shakespeare derived the incident, *Timon of Athens*, Act V, sc. ii), is that on one occasion he addressed an assembly of Athenians thus: '*My lords of Athens, I have a little garden to my house, where there groweth a fig-tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves, and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all know it, so that before the tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go and hang yourselves.*'
 Bacon means that these '*misanthropi*' are worse than Timon, for he would have given men a chance of escaping from their miseries by death; but these men delight in tormenting others, and giving them no release—keeping them in perpetual misery, like felons on the eve of execution, but with no intention of putting them out of their misery.
21. '**errors of human nature**'—most unnatural men. It is evident from this and many other passages, that Bacon had a very low estimate of the politics and politicians of his day.
22. '**politics**'—politicians.
23. '**knee timber**'—crooked wood, bent as the leg is at the knee.
24. '**citizen of the world**'—a cosmopolitan; one whose sympathies are not restricted to his own nation, but who professes alliance to all the human race.
25. '**noble tree**'—the myrrh-tree, or some other from which the odorous resin is obtained by incision.
26. '**shot**'—injured, vexed, annoyed: '*injuries cannot hurt him, because he forgives and forgets them.*'

27. 'trash'—rubbish; the valueless gifts they may offer. The word *trash* is allied with *thrash*; it was originally applied to the loppings of trees, and is preserved in a similar sense in the sugar plantations of the West Indies, where *field-trash* denotes the decayed leaves and stems of the canes, and *cane-trash*, their bruised and macerated rind.
28. *Rom. ix, 3.*

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XIII.

- I. What goodness is: its relation to goodness of nature, humanity, philanthropy, charity.
- II. The nature of goodness:
 1. It may be mistaken, but cannot be excessive.
 2. It is innate in man, and will exercise itself upon animals, if not on men.
- III. Cautions as to the proper use of this faculty:
 1. Seek the real good of others—not to gratify their whims or your own.
 2. Let your benevolence take a form suitable to the needs of the person you wish to benefit.
 3. Do not neglect duties that take precedence of benevolence.
- IV. The opposite to 'goodness' is malignity:
 1. Lighter (obstinacy, crossness, etc.).
 2. Deeper (envy and downright malice), exemplified by misanthropists like Timon.
- V. The parts and signs of goodness:
 1. Courtesy shows a large heart.
 2. Compassion shows a noble heart.
 3. Forgiveness shows a disposition that cannot be injured.
 4. Thankfulness shows a true appreciation of men's worth.
 5. Self-sacrifice exhibits a Divine nature.

XIV.—OF NOBILITY. (1612, *re-written* 1625.)

WE will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate,¹ then as a condition of particular persons.

A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for Nobility attempts² sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but for Democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps³ of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the busi-

ness, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags⁴ and pedigree.⁵ We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects.⁶ The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent,⁷ and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent Nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power,⁸ and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice;⁹ and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them¹⁰ before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous Nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge¹¹ of expense; and, besides, it being of necessity that many of the Nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.¹²

As for Nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers¹³ of time! for new Nobility is but the act of power, but ancient Nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to Nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent,¹⁴ than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts;¹⁵ but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain¹⁶ to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy.¹⁷ On the other side, Nobility extinguisheth the passive envy¹⁸ from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able

men of their Nobility shall find ease¹⁹ in employing them, and a better slide into their business ;²⁰ for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

NOTES ON ESSAY XIV.

1. 'estate'—*i.e.* state, constitution; the general body politic; or, as we say, 'the state.' Cf. the common expression, 'Church and State.'
2. 'attempters'—modifies, moderates. The nobles being nearer in degree to the monarch than other subjects are, the monarchy is less likely to become a despotism.
3. 'stirps'—families, races; literally stems, stocks (Latin *stirps*, *stirpis*). Bacon uses the Latin word without any alteration, except that he here makes it plural.
4. 'flags'—armorial bearings; the arms of noble houses.
5. 'pedigree'—descent, lineage, line of ancestors. The word is a corruption of the French *par degrés*, *by degrees*, pedigree really being a genealogical table showing in all their degrees the relationships of the members of a family.
6. 'utility . . . respects.' Their object as a nation is to secure and advance the common interests ('utility'), and not personal considerations ('respects'), *i.e.* to favour and enrich certain privileged individuals in the state.
7. 'consultations are more indifferent.' *The deliberations and decisions* (of the government) *are more impartial* (in those states in which all men are upon an equal footing) than in countries where the government is in the hands of one class.
Cf. 'Truly and indifferently minister justice'—Prayer for Church militant in Communion Service.
8. 'diminisheth power'—puts a check upon the power of the sovereign, and prevents his authority from becoming arbitrary.
9. 'too great for sovereignty nor for justice'—so powerful as to be beyond the control of the king, and out of the reach of the laws.
The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were often too powerful to be submissive to the French king. In Scotch history, when Bothwell was tried for the murder of Lord Darnley, he came to the court with such a number of armed attendants, that an impartial and just trial was an impossibility.
10. 'broken upon them'—spend its whole force upon the nobles, and thus lose itself before reaching the sovereign.
11. 'surcharge'—overcharge, great expense, overload. *To surcharge* is still the legal term used to denote the putting of more cattle to graze on a common than the commoner has a right to, or more than the herbage will sustain.

The prefix *sur* is merely the Latin *super*, shortened in passage through the French, as in *surcease*, *surface*, *surname*, *surfeit*, *surmount*, *survey*, *surprise*, *surrender*, etc.

12. 'disproportion between honour and means.' In the reign of Edward IV, George Neville, Duke of Bedford, was degraded from his noble rank because his means were adjudged too poor to support his dignity.
13. 'weathers'—winds, tempests. So also *weather-cock*, to indicate the direction of the wind; *weather-board*, for the windward side of a ship; the *weather* of a windmill, *i.e.* the obliquity of its sail. In *weather-bow*, *weather-brace*, *weather-helm*, and most other nautical terms in which it occurs, *weather* denotes wholly or chiefly the wind.
14. 'more virtuous but less innocent'—having more of the sterner qualities ('*virtues*'), courage, zeal, perseverance, etc.; but less of integrity, kindness, justice ('*innocence*').
15. 'arts'—practices.
16. 'remain.' Subjunctive mood: the indicative would be *remains*.
17. 'motions of envy'—incitements to envy. So in the *Prayer-Book*: '*We may ever obey Thy godly motions.*' '*Let a good man obey every good motion rising in his heart, knowing that every such motion proceeds from God*'—SOUTH.
We have a trace of the same use of the word in *emotion*, and in the verb to *move*, for to *arouse*, to *excite*.
18. 'passive envy'—*i.e.* being envied.
19. 'ease'—help, ease from difficulty or labour.
20. 'better slide into their business'—gentler and safer means for maintaining their authority and carrying on their government.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XIV.

- I. Nobility as part of an estate:
 1. Its effects are beneficial in—
 - (a.) Modifying the power of a sovereign.
 - (b.) Making government peaceful and respected.
The peace and contentment of democracies is produced by—
 - (1.) Self-interest (Swiss).
 - (2.) Impartiality (Netherlands).
 2. Its effects are detrimental in—
 - (a.) Danger of becoming too powerful for justice.
 - (b.) Causing poverty.
- II. Nobility in reference to individuals:
 1. An old nobility is venerable.
 2. Nobility induces virtue in descendants, though it may have been attained originally through crime.

3. It gives occasion for envy by—
 - (a.) Abating industry.
 - (b.) The advance of inferiors.
 4. It renders nobles less liable to be envied.
 5. Common people naturally obey men of noble birth.
-

XV.—OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES. (1625.)

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the Calendars¹ of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality;² as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia;³ and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states :

‘ Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tunescere bella.’⁴

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open ; and in like sort false news, often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants :

‘ Illam Terra parens, iræ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniuit.’⁵

As if fames⁶ were the relics of Seditions past ; but they are no less indeed the preludes of Seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine ; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible,⁷ and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced :⁸ for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, ‘ *Conflatâ magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.*’⁹ Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that¹⁰ the suppressing of them with too much severity should

be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about¹¹ to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived.

Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: '*Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi*;' ¹² disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay¹³ of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for¹⁴ the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents,¹⁵ make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered League¹⁶ for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same League was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessory¹⁷ to a cause, and that there be other bands¹⁸ that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under '*primum mobile*,'¹⁹ according to the old opinion, which is, that every²⁰ of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it well, '*liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*,'²¹ it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof;²² '*Solvam cingula regum*.'

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair

weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light²³ may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of Seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of Seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent Seditions (if the times do bear it²⁴) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of Seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain—so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles,²⁵ Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

‘ Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.’²⁶

This same ‘*multis utile bellum*’ is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to Seditions and Troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly²⁷ are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this—whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise²⁸ be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: ‘*Dolendi modus, timendi non item*;²⁹’ besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate³⁰ the courage; but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince or state be secure³¹ concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that

storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last ; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, '*The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*'

The causes and motives of Seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers,³² dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate ; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak : as for the just³³ cure, it must answer to the particular disease ; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of Sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate ;³⁴ to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade ;³⁵ the cherishing of manufactures ; the banishing of idleness ; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws ; the improvement and husbanding of the soil ; the regulating of prices of things vendible ; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock³⁶ of the kingdom which should maintain them : neither is the population to be reckoned only by number ; for a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more : therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality,³⁷ in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity ; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock ; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.³⁸

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch, as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner³⁹ (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth

unto another—the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage—so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that, '*materiam superabit opus*,'⁴⁰ that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines⁴¹ above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck,⁴² not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at least, keeping a strait⁴³ hand upon the devouring trades of usury,⁴⁴ engrossing great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is⁴⁵ in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the Noblesse and the Commonalty. When one of these is discontent,⁴⁶ the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe⁴⁷ it is for monarchs to make sure of the goodwill of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery⁴⁸), is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.⁴⁹

The part of Epimetheus⁵⁰ might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not

a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments; and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction;⁵¹ and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular;⁵² which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches,⁵³ which have fallen from princes, have given fire to Seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech: '*Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;*' for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, '*Legi a se militem,*

non emi;' for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, '*Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;*' a speech of great despair for the soldiers; and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender⁵⁴ matters and ticklish⁵⁵ times to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things,⁵⁶ and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events,⁵⁷ not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of Seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith: '*Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*'⁵⁸ but let such military persons be assured,⁵⁹ and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular;⁶⁰ holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

NOTES ON ESSAY XV.

1. 'Calendars.' The word seems here used to mean *accurate predictions of the weather*; the word used for it in the Latin edition is *prognostica*.

A calendar is an *almanac* or *ephemeris*, giving the computed positions of heavenly bodies for every day in the year, and other data for the use of the astronomer or navigator. The heavenly bodies, especially the moon, were believed to influence human affairs, especially the weather; and hence almanacs commonly contained *weather prognostications* such as are alluded to here.

2. 'equality'—level. The analogical argument which Bacon uses is a poor and unsound one; he says that just as the weather is generally rough and stormy at times when the nights are equal to the days, so seditions are most frequent and troublesome when the poorer classes enjoy prosperity and lose some of their respect for wealth and rank. He seems to think it dangerous either that the higher classes should decline or the lower make progress.
3. 'equinoctia'—the equinoxes. The word *equinox* is now thor-

- oughly Anglicised; but in Bacon's time the pure Latin word *equinoctium* was used.
4. The quotation is from Virgil's *Georgics*, i, 465: '*He (the Sun) also often warns us that tumults are at hand, that conspiracies and secretly-plotted wars are ready to burst forth.*'
 5. Quoted from Virgil's *Æneid*, iv, 179-181: '*Mother earth, exasperated at the anger of the gods, brought her forth, a last birth (as they say), sister to the giants Cæus and Enceladus.*'
 6. '*fames*'—seditious rumours, false and libellous news.
 7. '*plausible*'—praiseworthy, to be applauded.
 8. '*traduced*'—misrepresented, calumniated, defamed.
 9. Quoted, but not with literal accuracy, from Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 7: '*When once public odium is inflamed, all his actions are assailed whether good or bad.*'
 10. '*that*.' The repetition of this word is ungrammatical. Its insertion may be due to oversight, or to a desire to give clearness, or simply to the common custom, now obsolete, of using *that* as a mere expletive, e.g. *because that, in that, for that, before that*, etc.
 11. '*going about*'—attempt, endeavour.
 'They never go about to hide or palliate their vices'—SWIFT.
 'Why go ye about to kill me?'—*John* vii, 19.
 12. '*They (the soldiers) attended to their duties, but still as preferring that the commands of their rulers should be discussed than obeyed*'—Tacitus' *Hist.*, ii, 39.
 13. '*assay*'—attempt, trial.
 14. '*for*'—in favour of.
 15. '*common parents*'—parents to the whole state or commonwealth, and not to a party in the state.
 The word *common* is properly used (like *general*, for which see note 11, Essay VI) in an unrestricted sense for *pertaining to all*. It is the opposite to *proper*, which means *confined to some*. Thus, *commons* are lands of unrestricted ownership; a *common room* is one which is open for the use of all; the '*Book of Common Prayer*' is so called because designed for the use of the whole realm.
 16. '*League*.' Henry III, a weak and self-indulgent King of France, joined the Holy League, which had been founded by the Guises in support of the Catholic party against the Huguenots. In 1588, however, the power of the League was turned against him, and he was driven out of Paris.
 17. '*accessary*'—subordinate, inferior help.
 18. '*other bands*,' etc. *When a party is formed upon some principle or pretext which overrides that loyalty to the sovereign which ought to be absolutely supreme in all matters.*
 19. '*primum mobile*.' In the old or Ptolemaic system of astronomy, which was the one commonly believed for thirteen

hundred years, the earth was supposed to be placed in the centre of the universe, with the heavens revolving round it diurnally. The outermost or tenth heaven was beyond the farthest stars, and was called *primum mobile* (the first movable), because it was supposed to be the real moving power of the whole universe, carrying all the stars and planets round with its swift motion every twenty-four hours.

But the planets were thought to have another motion of their own, gentler and slower than that mighty and swift motion communicated to them by *primum mobile*.

Bacon, who is fond of this illustration, compares the power of constituted and recognised authority to that of *primum mobile*, but the efforts a man should make for his own self-aggrandisement to the gentler planetary motion, and says that when men increase this latter motion and make it violent, it shows the whole system of government to be out of order.

Bacon speaks of the Ptolemaic system as an 'old belief,' but he himself certainly did not altogether disbelieve it. The reader will find an interesting allusion to the two systems in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, iv, 592, *sqq.*

20. 'every'—for *every one*.

'If every of your wishes had a womb'—*Antony and Cleopatra*.

'Every of the happy number'—*As You Like It*.

21. 'Too freely to respect their own rulers.' Quoted, but inaccurately, from Tacitus' *Annals*, iii, 4.

22. 'dissolving thereof.' Who threatens as one of His most fearful punishments, that He will destroy this reverence, in the words, 'I will loosen the bands of kings'—*Isa.* xlv, 1.

23. 'light'—knowledge, clearness of understanding.

24. 'bear it'—suffer the cause ('matter') of them to be removed.

25. 'so many,' etc. As many men as there are in reduced and impoverished condition, so many abettors are there of conspiracy and revolution.

26. 'Hence came devouring usury and interest rapidly accumulating in time, hence shaken credit, and war profitable to many.' The quotation is from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, i, 181.

27. 'the belly'—hunger, starvation. Those rebellions that are inflamed by purely political feeling are not so dangerous as those caused by the sufferings of a starving people.

28. 'rise'—rebel, rise in rebellion.

29. 'To grief there is a limit, not so to fear'—Pliny's *Letters*, viii, 17, 6.

30. 'mate'—to match. Not, however (as in Essay II, note 10), with the object of opposing but of helping. Cf. *helpmate*, *mate*; and the verb *to mate* in the sense of *to marry*.

31. 'secure'—careless, free from anxiety. See note 5, Essay V.

32. 'strangers.' The presence of prosperous foreigners (as Jews) in a country has often been a cause of discontentment and envy, leading to riotous outbreaks, and at various times such men have been the subjects of restrictive enactments with regard to their trade, profits, apprentices.
33. 'just'—exact, precise, specially adapted for each case. Bacon says this must 'be left rather to counsel than rule,' *i.e.* must be matter of special consideration in each instance, and cannot be determined by any invariable rule which shall apply to all.
34. 'estate'—state, commonwealth.
35. 'well balancing of trade'—state interference by enforced and artificial means, to prevent too great a development in one branch of industry, which might cause a decay in some other branch.

Formerly state interference of this kind was considered not only advisable but necessary, and hence the frequency of sumptuary laws for the artificial regulation of matters that would now be left to the control of natural laws. Thus, to 'cherish' one trade, every farmer was compelled to plant a certain proportion of his land every year with hemp. In the Tudor period a great number of weavers were thrown out of employ by the action of wealthy clothiers in buying and working their own looms, or letting them out to private householders; a law was passed in 1557 absolutely prohibiting the letting out of a loom, and enacting that no private house should have in it more than one loom. As the woollen manufacture prospered and developed, there was a tendency to extinguish small farming by aggregating into large pasture farms, tended by few labourers, the multitude of tillage farms that had been cultivated by many labourers; for many years the legislature of the same period strove to prevent this. (See the '*engrossing great pasturages*' a few lines further on in this essay.) So also prices were regulated by law, and the materials and style of dress assigned compulsorily to the various ranks, with a view to maintain established industries and to provide occupation for all able-bodied men in the realm.

Sumptuary laws are now regarded as an exploded fallacy, and no doubt they failed in their object in most cases to which they were applied. But they probably had a moral if not a statutory value, being rather authoritative declarations of what was considered right, than as legal enactments to which obedience could be compelled.

36. 'stock'—produce. Cf. *live stock, stock of a farm*. The word is used in the same sense eight lines below, where he means that the labours of the clergy do not make any increase in the produce of the country.

37. 'quality'—rank, gentry, superiority, as distinguished from common people. This use of the word still survives.

'I shall appear at the masquerade dressed up in my feathers that the quality may see how pretty they look'—ADVISON.

38. 'take off'—provide for, be awarded to, remove into office and employment.

39. 'must be upon the foreigner.' Bacon thinks, as indeed all statesmen did at this time, that in the buying and selling which constitute trade, one party is always the loser and the other the gainer, and that in the case of foreign trade that country gains which receives the largest amount of the precious metals. The fallacy of this, however, has been long ago exposed. Trade can be, and generally is, of mutual benefit, for in advantageous buying and selling both exchangers (*i.e.* the seller and the purchaser) procure what they wish, and procure it at less cost than if they had to produce it for themselves. This possibility of *mutual* advantage is of course due to the special facilities which are naturally given to certain persons or certain localities for the production of things desired by other persons or in other places.

40. 'The labour is worth more than the commodity.'

41. 'best mines'—industries, and industrious habits, which are worth more than mines of gold and silver. Moreover, at this time the Dutch had a large and lucrative carrying trade, as the Venetians had previously.

42. 'muck'—manure, dung. It was also a cant word for money.

'The fatal muck we quarrelled for'—BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

So the verb *to mucker*=to hoard up money; and *mucker* or *muck-worm* is an old name for a miser.

43. 'strait'—*i.e.* strict, of which word it is merely another form.

44. 'usury'—exorbitant interest, interest at higher rate than was allowed by law. The fact that a lender of money often acquires enormous and ruinous power over the borrower, for many ages led to the taking of interest being regarded as morally wrong, and to the enactment of laws in all Christian countries restraining its amount.

45. 'in.' Grammatically unjustifiable; it should be 'are' to agree with the plural nominative 'portions.'

46. 'discontent'—discontented. See note 17, Essay VIII.

47. 'safe'—conferring safety, salutary.

48. 'bravery'—defiance, bravado.

49. 'imposthumations'—abscesses.

50. 'Epimetheus.' The mythological legend was that to revenge himself upon Prometheus ('forethought,' see note 8, Essay V) for stealing fire from heaven, Zeus (Jupiter) caused a woman to be made out of earth, who, by her charms and beauty, should bring misery upon mankind. For this pur-

pose all the gods conferred gifts upon her, and she was hence called Pandora (*All-gifted*). One of the gods brought her to Epimetheus, bearing a box containing all the ills that were to afflict men; Epimetheus married her, and opening the box, all these ills escaped and spread over the whole earth, but he closed it in time to keep in Hope, which lay at the bottom.

51. 'satisfaction'—instant granting of the things demanded.

52. 'particular'—particular respect, private interest.

'Our wisdom must be such as doth not propose to itself *our own particular*'—HOOKER.

53. 'witty and sharp speeches'—clever, but bitter sayings.

Cæsar's saying, '*Sylla did not know his letters and therefore was unable to dictate*,' contains a play on the verb *dictare*, which means both to *dictate* and to *be a dictator*; the offence was that being understood in the latter sense it seemed to show that Cæsar had resolved not to give up his dictatorship. The saying is attributed to Julius Cæsar by Suetonius.

Galba's saying, '*That it was his custom to levy soldiers, not to buy them*,' gave offence, because it implied that he would not give the customary bribe to the Prætorian Guards. He was killed by them A.D. 69.

Probus was Roman emperor A.D. 276-282, when he was killed by his mutinous troops. His saying, '*If I live there shall be to the Roman empire no more need of soldiers*,' naturally gave offence to the army.

54. 'tender'—requiring delicate and careful treatment.

55. 'ticklish'—very sensitive even to the slightest touch; that can hardly bear to be touched; hence the word comes to mean *critical, dangerous*.

56. 'flat things'—dull insipid things, and not taken much notice of ('*not so much noted*').

57. 'against all events'—in preparation for any emergency that may arise.

58. '*And the state of feeling was such that a few dared to perpetuate this most foul deed; more wished to do it; all tolerated it*'—Quoted from Tacitus' *History*, i, 28.

59. 'assured'—trusted, regarded with confidence.

60. 'popular'—desiring popularity, fawning to the people.

'A popular man is indeed no better than a prostitute to common fame and to the people'—DRYDEN.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XV.

- I. The signs of sedition (like those of tempestuous weather):
 1. Rumours and libels—often best treated with contempt.
 2. Tendency to discuss commands before obeying them.

3. Partisanship of the sovereign.
 4. Open discords and quarrels ; in short, anything that shakes either of the four pillars of government—religion, justice, counsel, treasure.
- II. Its materials :
1. Poverty—which creates a desire for war.
 2. Discontent—from which no king or state is secure.
- III. Its causes and motives (exemplifications of No. 4 above) : innovations, taxes, oppressions, favouritism, strangers, dearth, etc.
- IV. Its remedies :
- A. Remedies for poverty :
 1. Legal enactments for opening trade, cherishing manufactures, checking waste and excess.
 2. Preventing too great increase of nobility.
 3. Care to prevent injury from foreign trade.
 4. Avoiding accumulations of wealth by a few in the state.
 - B. Remedies for discontent :
 1. Conciliating the common people.
 2. Giving moderate liberty of complaining.
 3. Offering hope for future rather than giving present satisfactions.
 4. Seeking to make factions leaderless and disunited.
 5. Avoiding hasty and bitter speeches.
 6. Presence and help of military leaders.

XVI.—OF ATHEISM. (1612, *slightly enlarged* 1625.)

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend,¹ and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame² is without a Mind ; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince³ Atheism, because His ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about⁴ to religion ; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further ; but when it beholdeth the chain of them⁵ confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity : nay, even that school which is most accused of Atheism⁶ doth most demonstrate religion :

that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus : for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine Marshal. The Scripture saith, '*The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;*' it is not said, '*The fool hath thought in his heart;*' so as⁷ he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that⁸ he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it ; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh⁹ that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more,¹⁰ that Atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that Atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others ; nay more, you shall have Atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects ; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for Atheism, and not recant ; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves ?¹¹ Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures,¹² but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world ; wherein they say he did temporise,¹³ though in secret he thought there was no God : but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine : '*Non Deos vulgi negare profanum ; sed vulgi opinionones Diis applicare profanum.*' Plato could have said no more ; and although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God : as if the heathens should have had the names *Jupiter, Apollo, Mars*, etc., but not the word *Deus* ; which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it ; so that against Atheists the

very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative Atheist is rare ; a Diagoras,¹⁴ a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others ; and yet they seem to be more than they are ; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of Atheists : but the great Atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things but without feeling ; so as they must needs be cauterised in the end.

The causes of Atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many ; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce Atheism : another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St Bernard¹⁵ saith, '*Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos ; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos ;*' a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion ; and lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity ; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion.

They that deny a God destroy a man's nobility ; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body ; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature ; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or '*melior natura ;*'¹⁶ which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain ; therefore, as Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations : never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith :¹⁷ '*Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos*

amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hæc unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, nationesque super-
avimus.'

NOTES ON ESSAY XVI.

1. 'The Legend.' He refers to some collection, of which there were many, of the miraculous stories of saints : one such called the *Golden Legend* may be specially intended ; it was compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacob Voraigue, Archbishop of Genoa.
- 'The Talmud.' The Talmud is a book containing the Jewish traditions and sacred laws. It consists of two parts—the *Mishna*, or the written laws, and the *Gemara*, or the rabbinical comments, explanations, and traditions thereon. It is said to contain a great deal of foolish extravagance.
- 'The Alcoran'—more properly, '*The Koran*,' i.e. the book, al being the article, as in *al-chemy*, *al-cohol*, *al-gebra*, *al-kali*, *al-manac*, and other words of Arabic origin. *Al-Koran* is the name by which Mohammedans designate their sacred book, and etymologically it exactly corresponds with our name '*the Bible*,' i.e. the Book. It was composed by Mahomet (A.D. 570-632), and consists of revelations said to have been made to him at various times by God through the angel Gabriel.
2. 'universal frame'—the framework of the universe ; the material world ; all material things.
3. 'convince'—convict, expose, overthrow. So in speaking of the power which it was believed the English kings possessed of curing scrofula ('the king's evil') by a touch, Shakespeare makes Macduff say :

' Their malady convinces
The great assay of art ; but at his touch
 they presently amend '—*Macbeth*.

' To convince the proud what signs avail '—MILTON.
' Seek not to convince me of a crime
Which I can ne'er repent nor you pardon '—DRYDEN.
' Which of you convinceth me of sin ? '—*John viii*, 46.
' To convince all that are ungodly of all their ungodly deeds '—*Jud. i*, 15.
4. 'about'—in circuit, round. So in *Macbeth*, III, iii, 12, when Banquo dismounts to walk by a short path to the palace,

and send his horses round by the longer way, the murderer says, '*His horses go about.*'

5. 'the chain of them'—the long succession of causes. Bacon's argument is that a little scientific knowledge may dispose a man to atheism by leading him to fancy that phenomena are entirely explained when we have discovered the '*second causes*' (i.e. immediate or '*efficient causes*'), which produce them; whereas a wider and deeper knowledge may lead him to see that all these '*second causes*' must themselves have some cause, and that there must be a great general First Cause of all things; so that there can be no satisfactory end to his inquiries until he '*flies to Providence and Deity.*'

Thus, the '*second cause*' of the sensation of sight is now known to be that light impinges upon the retina and affects the optic nerve, which is directly connected with the brain itself, the seat and origin of all sensation. This, however, does not afford any answer to the question, *How is it that I am able to see?* It merely takes me one link further back in the chain of causes, and leaves me still to inquire what it is that makes the nerve to convey and the brain to receive the sensation of light.

6. 'school . . . most accused of Atheism.' Those Greek philosophers who, continuing the investigations of the Ionic school, adopted in physics the *atomic theory* of accounting for the origin of the universe.

Leucippus originated this theory, and it was developed by his disciple, Democritus of Abdera (B.C. 460-355). He was called '*the laughing philosopher*,' and is regarded as the parent of experimental philosophy. Epicurus, in physics, adopted the doctrines of this school.

They held that there were four elements out of which all things were composed, and a fifth, the *quintessence*, or fifth essence, which was immutable.

Bacon (laying stress on the antithesis between '*placed*' and '*unplaced*') says that the doctrines of the Atomists '*demonstrate religion*' because they presuppose a God as the originator, though not the sustainer, of all things: as he says a few lines below, *they denied the administration, but could not deny the nature.*

7. 'so as'—so that.
8. 'that'—that which.
9. 'for whom it maketh'—to whom it would be an advantage.

So in Milton :

'I was assured that nothing was designed
Against thee, but safe custody and hold;
That made for me; I knew that liberty
Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises'
—*Samson Agonistes.*

10. 'more.' The meaning would be clearer if this word were

removed a few words further down: '*more than by this, that atheists,*' etc.

11. Bacon's argument is that when atheists proselytise, or are willing to suffer for their atheism, they afford a conclusive proof of their insincerity, because, assuming atheism to be true, they do but waste their labour in trying to convince others of it, and undergo needless and profitless pain in suffering for it.

The argument, however, is not satisfactory: we can imagine an atheist willing to suffer for the sake of the consciousness that he had not given his assent to what he believed to be false.

12. '*blessed natures*'—divine natures; gods.
13. '*temporise*'—dally, comply; say what was best for the time, though he did not really believe it.

The words quoted are attributed to Epicurus by Diogenes Laertius (x, 23): '*It is not profane to deny the existence of the gods of the vulgar; but it is profane to attribute to the gods the opinions of the vulgar.*'

14. '*Diagoraa*.' An Athenian philosopher surnamed '*the Atheist*.' For speaking contemptuously of the popular religion he was charged with impiety, and being banished, died at Corinth, about 450 B.C.

'*Bion*' (contemporary with a poet of the same name) was a satirist who died about B.C. 240.

'*Lucian*,' who died about A.D. 200, ridiculed in his writings the pagan mythology and the philosophical sects.

15. '*St Bernard*' (A.D. 1091-1153), called '*the last of the Fathers*,' was Abbot of Clairvaux. The quotation is from *Serm. ad Pastores*: '*It is not for us now to say, "As is the people, so the priest," for the people are not so bad as the priest.*'

16. '*melior natura*'—a superior nature.

17. '*Cicero saith*.' The quotation is from *De Haruspicum Responsis*, ix: '*We may admire ourselves, O conscript fathers, as much as we wish; still we cannot match the Spaniards in number, nor the Gauls in strength, nor the Carthaginians in cunning, nor the Greeks in art. Nor, in short, the Italians and Latins themselves in the inborn, home-bred sons of this land and nation; but in piety and devotion, and in this the only wisdom, because we have recognised that all things are ruled and governed by the will of the immortal gods, (in this) we have surpassed all nations and races.*'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XVI.

- I. The absurdity of atheism is exposed by—
 1. God's ordinary works.

2. Deep philosophy, though shallow philosophy may seem to justify it.
 3. Holy Scripture, which regards it as a mere profession.
 4. The insincerity of atheists themselves in proselytising and suffering.
 5. The heathen mythology, and the worship of savages.
 6. The lack of 'contemplative atheists.'
- II. The causes of atheism :
1. Many divisions in religion.
 2. Scandal of priests.
 3. Custom of profane scoffing.
 4. Learned times, with peace and prosperity.
- III. The hateful character of atheism :
1. It destroys man's nobility.
 2. It destroys 'magnanimity and the raising of human nature' alike—
 - (a.) In individuals.
 - (b.) In nations.

XVII.—OF SUPERSTITION. (1612, *slightly enlarged in 1625.*)

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him ; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely :¹ and certainly Superstition² is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch³ saith well to that purpose, '*Surely,*' saith he, '*I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born;*' as the poets speak of Saturn : and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater⁴ towards men.

Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation : all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not ;⁵ but Superstition dismounts⁶ all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men : therefore atheism did never perturb⁷ states : for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus

Cæsar) were civil⁸ times ; but Superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new '*primum mobile*,'⁹ that ravisheth all the spheres of government.

The master of Superstition is the people,¹⁰ and in all Superstition wise men follow fools : and arguments are fitted to practice¹¹ in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen¹² bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs¹³ to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things ; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church.

The causes¹⁴ of Superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies ; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness ; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church ; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre ; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties ; the taking an aim at Divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations ;¹⁵ and lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters.

Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing ; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of Superstition to religion makes it the more deformed : and as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a Superstition in avoiding Superstition,¹⁶ when men think to do best if they go furthest from the Superstition formerly received ; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings¹⁷) the good be not taken away with the bad which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

NOTES ON ESSAY XVII.

1. 'contumely'—positive insult, reproach. What Bacon says in this opening sentence seems at first hardly consistent with the language used at the beginning of Essay XVI. In one he says that credulity is better than atheism—in the other he says that atheism, 'to have no opinion of God at all,' is not so bad as superstition. Doubtless, however, he regards atheism in two separate lights—one the plain, deliberate, and explicit denial in words of the existence of God—i.e. *active mental atheism*—the other, *passive moral atheism*, which gives or seems to give acquiescence and consent to atheism, by living as if there were no God, or as if we could know nothing about such a Being. The former Bacon regards with abhorrence as worse than the worst credulity—the latter he says is not so bad as to have a positive opinion respecting God which really insults Him.

2. 'Superstition'—lit. *a standing over; a putting something over and above (religion); adding to religion fears and scruples which degrade it.*

Thus, to believe that God 'orders all things both in heaven and earth' is a fundamental part of religion; but if I add to that a belief that if I were *to have my hair cut when the moon is waning* (which is a superstition some people hold), God would be offended thereby, and would, in consequence, cause events to happen so as to injure me, this is superstition, and, as Bacon says, it 'reproaches' God.

Thus superstition is not excess of religion, but it is some absurd and dangerous belief associated with religion; hence Dr Johnson speaks of superstition as '*religion without morals.*'

3. 'Plutarch,' already referred to, was a famous Greek biographer, who lived in the first century after Christ. His great work, *Parallel Lives*, consists of the biographies of forty-six famous Greeks and Romans.

The quotation is from his work, *De Superstitione*, and the reference is to Saturn (Greek *Kronos*), who, according to the ancient mythology, devoured all his children, until Zeus (Jupiter) was saved by the substitution of a stone.

4. 'danger is greater.' Superstition has led to many fearful acts of cruelty: the belief in witchcraft has no doubt entailed persecution, and even death, upon many innocent persons.
5. 'were not'—did not exist.
6. 'dismounts'—deposes, supersedes.
7. 'perturb'—disturb. He means that atheists, not looking forward to the rewards and punishments of another world, live quietly in this world, because they have nothing to consider but their own interests.

8. 'civil'—tranquil; free from war.
9. 'primum mobile.' See note 19, Essay XV. Just as the supposed *primum mobile* was the one source of all the motions of the universe, superstition would be like an opposing force introducing confusion.
10. 'master of Superstition is the people.' The real origin of superstition is not that common people are deluded and imposed upon by those who wish to lead them wrong, but that there is in them a predisposition to be deceived. They are, in the first place, willing to be led wrong. Men are not easily deluded unless there is first in them a readiness or desire for delusion.

The same is the case with the evils of a pernicious literature, the origin of which is due more to those who read bad books than to those who publish them; for if there were none willing to read such books, none would offer to sell them.

So also in the case of bribery. The guilt of the briber is less than that of the person who lets it be known that he is open to receive a bribe.

11. 'arguments are fitted to practice'—*i.e.* men do not conform their practice to those principles which they believe to be true, but they first act in a certain manner, and then seek for arguments to justify their conduct. Thus, in the sixteenth century men first engaged in the African slave trade, and found it lucrative, and afterwards discovered that the negroes, being descendants of Ham, had been consigned to slavery by the Divine decree.

So some of the Corinthians indulged in sensuality, and then found out the principle, '*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*'

So also some stingy persons refuse to help in works of legitimate charity, and then justify their meanness by saying that political economy has shown that such works are really and ultimately injurious.

12. 'schoolmen'—those who adopted the '*scholastic philosophy*' taught in the schools or *universities* of Europe during the Middle Ages, beginning with the ninth century, but reaching its height in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *schools* were opened by Charlemagne for the prosecution of speculative studies, and were entirely under the guidance of the clergy, who alone had the leisure or inclination for such work. Philosophy was, therefore, very much mixed up with theology, and the great effort of the schoolmen was to construct a theological system upon the basis of the recently revived Aristotelian philosophy. To a modern reader much of their philosophy seems nothing better than a frivolous and wearisome dispute about words, involving the most subtle

questions on the nature of God and angels, and on points of casuistry.

The most eminent schoolmen were Johannes Scotus Erigena, Abelard, Albertus Magnus, St Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus; Raymond Lully, Roger Bacon, and William of Occam, and the nominalists.

13. '**eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs.**' In the Ptolemaic system of astronomy the apparent irregularities in the motions of the heavenly bodies were accounted for by imagining that they moved in orbs having more than one centre ('*eccentric*'), or that their orbs described circles upon other circles ('*epicycles*').

These were mere devices ('*engines*') invented to account for ('*save*') astronomical phenomena by men who were really ignorant of the true nature of the motions of the heavenly bodies.

Milton refers to these devices as '*quaint opinions*' in the words which he makes Raphael address to Adam:

'When they come to model heaven
And calculate the stars, how they will wield
The mighty frame: how build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb'—*Paradise Lost*, viii, 79.

14. '**causes.**' In the seven causes which Bacon enumerates, he seems to have had in view the excesses both of the Puritans and the High Church party.
15. '**mixture of imaginations**'—confusion which arises from mixing science with religion, and attempting to measure the truths of one by the standard of the other.
16. '**Superstition in avoiding Superstition.**' A superstitious act or belief is in itself really a thing indifferent, and can do neither good nor harm; just as St Paul says of an idol, '*We know that an idol is nothing in the world*' (1 Cor. viii, 4). But some people attach importance to it in the belief that it will do good, while others as sedulously avoid it, in the fear that it may do harm: both these arise from superstition. Many good people perhaps use the sign of the cross in worship in a superstitious way, but others, equally superstitious, regard such a use as wrong and positively hurtful: the truth is, that neither the use nor the neglect have the slightest connection with the essential part of worship.
17. '**ill purgings**'—violent medicines; extreme remedies which do harm at the same time as good.
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ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XVII.

- I. The evil nature of superstition—
 1. More impious than atheism, because insulting God is worse than neglecting Him.
 2. More criminal than atheism, because it destroys morality and government.
 3. It originates with fools, and then is supported by arguments devised by wiser men (*like astronomy and scholasticism*).
 - II. Its causes—rites and ceremonies, pharisaism, traditions, self-seeking, etc.
 - III. Concluding remarks:
 1. Superstition is all the more horrible from its resemblance to religion.
 2. Avoiding superstition may itself be superstition in another form.
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XVIII.—OF TRAVEL. (1625.)

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education;¹ in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school,² and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow³ well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded,⁴ and look abroad little.

It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it, as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use.

The things to be seen and observed are the Courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of Consistories⁵ Ecclesiastic; the Churches and

Monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the Walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the Havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; Shipping and navies; Houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; Armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses,⁶ warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; Comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; Treasuries of jewels and robes; Cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for Triumphs, Masks, Feasts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and such shows, men need not be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected.

If you will have a young man to put his Travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card,⁷ or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance;⁸ let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth; let him, upon his removes⁹ from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know; thus he may abridge his Travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in Travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men¹⁰

of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words;¹¹ and let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels.

When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his Travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised¹² in his answers than forward to tell stories; and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in¹³ some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

NOTES ON ESSAY XVIII.

1. 'part of education.' He means that the object of travelling is not amusement, or recreation, as we often think in our own day; but it is a part of education, continuing the work of the school and preparing for the work of life. At school, we study books; in travel, places and men.
2. 'goeth to school'—does in travelling the work which he ought to have done previously at school. No man, he says, ought to travel until he is properly equipped for it; and if he has to devote all his time to the learning of the language, he loses the real benefit of travelling. Of course in the present day the circumstances of travelling have so changed, and the facilities for it so increased, that much of what Bacon says, though applicable to an age in which men rarely travelled abroad more than once in a lifetime, needs modification to make it suitable to ourselves.
3. 'allow'—praise; approve; sanction. (Latin *allando*.)

'The Lord *alloweth* the righteous'—*Ps.* xi, 5.

'Ye *allow* the deeds of your fathers'—*Luke* xi, 48.

'We commend his pains, condemn his pride, *allow* his life, approve his learning'—FULLER.

4. 'hooded'—blindfolded. A term derived from falconry. So in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, iii, 7, the constable says of the Dauphin's boasted bravery: '*Never anybody saw it but his lackey; 'tis a hooded valour.*'
5. 'Consistories'—ecclesiastical courts.
6. 'exchanges, burses.' Bacon evidently makes a distinction between these two words. Probably the former denotes *markets* and the latter *stock exchanges* or *money markets*.
7. 'card'—chart, map. So in Essay XXIX he speaks of 'cards and maps.'
8. 'adamant of acquaintance'—attraction or loadstone to draw friends. *Diamond* and *adamant* are really the same word (see note 17, Essay I). But perhaps there may be some confusion between the Latin words *adamas*, *adamantis*=adamant; and *adamans*, *adamantis*=loving, attracting. *Loadstone*, the name of magnetic ore=*leading-stone*.
In Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 195, Helena says to Demetrius: '*You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant.*'
9. 'removes'—removals. So in the proverb: '*Three removes are as bad as a fire.*'
10. 'employed men.' We now use the word *attaché* for a confidential servant attached to an embassy.
11. He can easily avoid quarrels by avoiding the most common causes of quarrels—light attachments to women, wine parties and health-drinking, claims for priority, disposition to cavil at words and pick a quarrel out of them.
12. 'advised'—cautious, thoughtful; so the adverb *advisedly*, for *cautiously*.
13. 'prick in'—plant.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XVIII.

The benefits of foreign travel are insured by—

1. Previously acquiring knowledge of the language, and travelling with tutor or servant who has done the same.
2. Keeping a diary.
3. Seeing everything that is really worth seeing.
4. Carrying a map or book—moving from place to place—shunning one's own countrymen—seeking useful acquaintance.
5. Avoiding quarrels.
6. After returning home by—
 - (a.) Corresponding with foreign friends.
 - (b.) Being careful not to obtrude boastfully before others, in dress or conversation, his acquaintance with foreign lands.

XIX.—OF EMPIRE. (1612, enlarged 1625.)

IT is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire,¹ which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations² of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, that '*the king's heart is inscrutable*:'³ for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires,⁴ and set their hearts upon toys;⁵ sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an Order;⁶ sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat⁷ of the hand: as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay⁸ in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years (it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes), turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great,⁹ Diocletian, and in our memory, Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper¹⁰ of Empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and dis-temper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The

answer of Apollonius¹¹ to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, '*What was Nero's overthrow?*' he answered, '*Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.*' And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times¹² in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with Fortune;¹³ and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter¹⁴ of trouble to be prepared. For no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus¹⁵) to will contradictories; '*Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae;*' for it is the solecism¹⁶ of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their Neighbours, their Wives, their Children, their Prelates or Clergy, their Nobles, their second Nobles or Gentlemen, their Merchants, their Commons, and their Men of War; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their Neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing¹⁷ of trade, by approaches,¹⁸ or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept that

none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in anywise take up peace at interest:¹⁹ and the like was done by that league²⁰ (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzious Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their Wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed²¹ for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana,²² Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England his Queen²³ had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband.

This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.²⁴

For their Children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate.²⁵ The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus,²⁶ a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius,²⁷ son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repent

ance. And many like examples there are ; but few or none where the fathers had good²⁸ by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them ; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their Prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them ; as it was in the times of Anselmus²⁹ and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it³⁰ with the king's sword ; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings ; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state,³¹ but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority ; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation³² of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their Nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss ; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my *History of King Henry the Seventh of England*, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles ; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business ; so that in effect he was fain³³ to do all things himself.

For their second Nobles,³⁴ there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed : they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt ; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent ; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their Merchants, they are '*vena porta* ;'³⁵ and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the

shire;⁸⁶ the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their Commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their Men of War, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives;⁸⁷ whereof we see examples in the Janizaries and Prætorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies,⁸⁸ which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, '*Memento quod es homo*;' and '*Memento quod es Deus*,' or '*vice Dei*;' ⁸⁹ the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

NOTES ON ESSAY XIX.

1. '**want matter of desire**'—have nothing capable of exciting their interest.
2. '**representations**'—surmisings; appearances arousing suspicion and distrust.
3. *Prov.* xxv, 3.
4. '**make themselves desires**'—devise artificial pleasures.
5. '**toys**'—trifles; things for amusement but not of real value.
6. '**Order**'—class of special rank; community of men upon whom some honourable rank or degree has been conferred. Cf. '*Holy Orders*,' '*The Order of the Garter*,' '*Order of Knighthood*.'
7. '**feat**'—literally anything *done* (Latin *factum*; French *fait*); and hence, anything cleverly or dexterously done, e.g. *feats of horsemanship*.
8. '**standing at a stay**'—coming to a stop; being unable to proceed.
9. '**Alexander the Great**.' He was always full of high spirits when actively engaged in his great military exploits; but at the end of his life, when his strength began to fail, he suffered greatly from depression of spirits, and became

morose and suspicious. Plutarch, whose account probably suggested the incident to Bacon, says that he left his trust in the gods, and his mind became so troubled and terrified, that whatever unusual thing happened to him he immediately took for a sign from the gods of impending evil, and that his tent was always full of soothsayers.

'**Diocletian**'—Roman emperor from A.D. 284 to 305, when he abdicated and passed the remaining eight years of his life in privacy. Bacon is wrong in supposing that 'superstition and melancholy' led to Diocletian's retirement. Gibbon says (chap. xiii, vol. i) that 'reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied, his retreat, in which he enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the possession of the world.' He retired to a magnificent palace a few miles from Salona, in his native province of Dalmatia, and pleasantly occupied himself in building, planting, and gardening. On one occasion, when urged by Maximian, to whom he had given the empire of the west, to reassume the imperial government, he replied with a smile of pity, 'If I could show you the cabbages which I have planted with my own hand at Salona, you would no longer urge me to give up the possession of happiness for the sake of the pursuit of power.'

'**Charles V**' (I of Spain)—Emperor of the West. In A.D. 1555, wearied with incessant cares, and worn out by activity, he abdicated the imperial throne, and resigned his hereditary states of the Netherlands to his son Philip, the husband of Mary, Queen of England, and retired to the monastery of St Just in Estremadura, where he lived in severe asceticism. A few weeks before his death (1558) he had his funeral obsequies performed in his presence.

10. '**temper**'—the blending of the various parts; the constitution; the mixture of the different elements so as to make one harmonious whole.

The word is used both of persons individually and of the 'body politic.'

To '*interchange*' the various parts without blending them, produces what Bacon calls, in the next sentence, '*distemper*.'

11. '**Apollonius**' of Tyana—a Pythagorean philosopher who lived in the first century of the Christian era. He led a most ascetic life, delivered philosophical discourses, and professed to have the power of working miracles. His life (a collection of many interesting and some incredible stories), from which Bacon here quotes, was written by Philostratus in the third century, at the command of the Empress Julia Domna, who made a foolish attempt to revive paganism by means of his name.

12. 'these latter times'—Bacon's own age, of the political and military wisdom of which he seems to have had a very poor opinion, alleging that it consisted rather in fortunate escapes from danger ('*fine deliveries*') and devices for postponing mischief, instead of good and well-considered means of meeting danger and preventing mischief.
13. 'to try masteries with Fortune'—to adopt a haphazard policy which may succeed, but is very liable to fail.
14. 'matter'—material, fuel; hence the allusion to *the spark* in the next sentence.
15. 'Tacitus.' '*The desires of monarchs are generally vehement and conflicting among themselves.*' The quotation is not from Tacitus, but from Sallust, and not literal: '*Sed plerumque regia voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipse sibi adversa*'—*Jugurtha*, cap. 113.
16. 'solecism'—mistake, absurdity. He means, '*The mistake which rulers are most liable to is that of supposing they can secure desired ends without making use of the proper means.*'
The name *solecism* is generally confined to inaccuracies of language. The word is said to have originally designated the barbarisms and inaccuracies of speech of the Soli, a band of Attic colonists who settled in Cilicia, and there lost the purity of their language.
17. 'embracing'—attracting, enticing.
18. 'approaches'—coming near them in a hostile attitude by means of forts and armies.
19. 'take up peace at interest'—borrow peace to pay for it at some future time; procure immediate peace on terms ultimately ruinous.
20. 'that league'—the league of A.D. 1480, designed to watch the growing power of the Venetians. Francisco Guicciardini was a famous Italian historian who wrote the history of his own time. He took a leading part in the political changes at Florence which led to the restoration to power of the Medici family.
21. 'infamed'—spoken badly of, decried, denounced. Livia, the third wife of the Emperor Augustus, is said to have poisoned him, to procure the succession of her son Tiberius.
22. 'Roxolana'—the wife of Solyman I ('the Magnificent'), the greatest of the Ottoman Sultans, both as a warrior and ruler. In his wars he captured Belgrade, took the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St John, and fought successfully against the Persians. One of his wives, Roxolana, who had been a slave, became jealous of his son Mustapha, who, through her machinations, was strangled in his father's presence. The domestic life of Solyman was embittered by the fierce quarrels of his sons Selim (Selymus II) and Bajazet, the latter of whom was defeated and put to death in Persia.

- with his children. It was said that Selim was not the son of Solymán, but had in infancy been palmed off as such, hence Bacon speaks of him as '*supposititious*.'
23. '**his Queen**'—the infamous Isabella of Anjou. The pronoun '*his*' is a pedantic and inaccurate substitution for the apostrophe and *s*. Cf. in the *Prayer-Book*: '*Jesus Christ his sake*.'
 24. '**advoutrresses**'—adulteresses.
 25. '**unfortunate**'—productive of misfortune; injurious.
 26. '**Crispus**'—son of Constantine the Great, cruelly murdered by his father, A.D. 326. Bacon calls him 'a prince of rare *towardness*,' *i.e.* docility, opposite to *frowardness* or *untowardness*.
 27. '**Demetrius**'—son of Philip V of Macedon. He was falsely accused by his brother Perseus of conspiring to dethrone his father, by whose order he was then put to death, B.C. 179.
 28. '**had good**'—obtained benefit.
 29. '**Anselmus**.' St Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury during the reigns of William II and Henry I. He was a pious, earnest, and upright man, and a distinguished scholar, but his rigid assertion of the rights of the clergy led to very fierce quarrels with both kings.
 - '**Thomas Becket**' pursued the same course, but with still greater violence, with regard to Henry II.
 30. '**try it**'—come to open fight.
 31. '**state**'—order, rank (*i.e.* the clergy). Bacon says that the clergy are not a dangerous order ('*state*'), except ('*but*') when they owe allegiance to a foreign power, referring, no doubt, to the old disputes about the papal supremacy.
 32. '**collation**'—the presentation and institution to a benefice when the same person is both the ordinary and the patron. The patron of a living presents his nominee to the bishop, who thereupon institutes him; when the bishop himself is patron he is said to *collate* to the living.
 33. '**fain**'—glad; glad to get things done, even though he had to do them himself.
 34. '**second nobles**'—the gentry.
 35. '**vena porta**'—*the portal vein, i.e.* the vein which carries the blood from the stomach, spleen, and intestines, and distributes it through the liver. Bacon uses an odd and apparently inaccurate illustration; if he means, as he seems to do, that the *vena porta* contains the richest blood in the body, he is wrong; but perhaps he means that the merchants gather wealth and distribute it, just as this vein collects blood for redistribution.
 36. What he gains in one way he loses in another. Just as in charging high prices, a tradesman makes a higher rate of profit, but sells fewer goods.

37. 'used to donatives'—accustomed to being bribed. The Prætorian Guards were instituted as a kind of bodyguard, receiving double pay, by the Emperor Augustus, but Constantine found it advisable to abolish them. They made emperors and got rid of them, and on one occasion sold the imperial dignity by auction.

The Janizaries (Turkish *yent-tshéri*, new soldiers) were a privileged military class among the Turks, finally disbanded in 1826.

38. 'heavenly bodies'—a reference to the astrological belief that the heavenly bodies actually influenced and moulded human affairs.
39. '*Remember that thou art a man,*' and '*Remember that thou art a god*' or '*in place of God.*'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XIX.

- I. The misery of rulers is that—
 1. With few hopes they have many fears.
 2. They are obliged to make artificial enjoyments.
 3. And at last are very liable to 'superstition and melancholy.'
- II. The 'true temper of empire' is—
 1. To be consistent (mingling contraries, not interchanging).
 2. To try to cope with the real causes of mischief.
- III. The sources of danger to empire :
 1. Encroachments of other sovereigns.
 2. Plots of unfaithful and jealous wives.
 3. Suspicions alienating children.
 4. Prelates recognising foreign allegiance.
 5. Nobles when not sufficiently regarded (gentry are rarely dangerous).
 6. Commons when their *religion, customs, or means of living* are interfered with.
 7. Military men when open to bribes.
- IV. Rulers should themselves bridle their power and their will.

XX.—OF COUNSEL. (1612, enlarged 1625.)

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving Counsel;¹ for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how

much the more they² are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon Counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of His Blessed Son, '*The Counsellor*.' Solomon hath pronounced that, '*in counsel is stability*.'⁸ Things will have their first or second agitation:⁴ if they be not tossed upon the arguments of Counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of Fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing,⁵ like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son⁶ found the force of Counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill Counsel; upon which Counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad Counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young Counsel for the persons, and violent Counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of Counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of Counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth Counsel; whereby they intend⁷ that Sovereignty is married to Counsel; the other,⁸ in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but ate her up: whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them (which is the first begetting or impregnation); but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and

power, are resembled⁹ to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of Counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using Counsel are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some Kings' times, hath introduced Cabinet Councils;¹⁰ a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do;¹¹ but let princes beware that the unsecreting¹² of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for Cabinet Councils, it may be their motto, '*Plenus rimarum sum.*'¹³ one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill;¹⁴ and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.¹⁵

For weakening of authority, the fable¹⁶ sheweth the remedy: nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of Counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by

his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.¹⁷

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, '*non inveniet fidem super terram*,'¹⁸ is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel¹⁹ out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

'*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*'²⁰

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative²¹ into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular²² use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to²³ others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take Counsel concerning matters, if they take no Counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images: and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*,²⁴ as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said,

'*Optimi consiliarii mortui*:'²⁵ '*books will speak plain when counsellors blanch*;' therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.²⁶

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift²⁷ to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; '*In nocte consilium*:'²⁸ so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may '*hoc agere*.'²⁹ In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent³⁰ persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing³¹ commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like), be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious³² manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the wall, seem things of form,³³ but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him,³⁴ and instead of giving free Counsel, will sing him a song of *Piaccebo*.

NOTES ON ESSAY XX.

1. 'giving counsel'—rather in its passive sense, *being counselled, being advised*. In this sense, *to give counsel* is to entrust with the office of counsellor.

Bacon evidently supposes a counsellor who is entrusted with all his friend's secrets, and whose advice is imperative upon that friend; otherwise it is a strained argument which alleges that a man risks more in asking advice than in 'other confidences,' as those of *agent, steward, manager, clerk, servant*.

2. 'they'—*i.e.* the counsellors: in proportion as their act involves the greater risks, so are they more responsible for them.
3. *Prov. xx, 18*: '*Every purpose is established by counsel.*'
4. 'agitation'—discussion: things must be tested in one of two ways, either by the careful scrutiny of discussion, or by the chances of experience, and in the latter case the issue is uncertain, and beyond control.

The word comes from the Latin verb *agito*, which means (1) to toss; (2) to deliberate. We still speak of *agitating a question*—*i.e.* persistently keeping it open for discussion.

5. 'doing and undoing'—being approved, and then denied; done, and then undone. Both the participles are really *passive*: '*the skein of thread is undoing*,' means that it is *being undone*; just as '*the book is reprinting*,' means that it is *being reprinted*.
6. 'Solomon's son'—Rehoboam, through whose acceptance of the advice of the young counsellors the kingdom of Israel was rent in twain (1 *Kings* xii).
7. 'intend'—mean to signify.
8. 'the other'—*i.e.* '*the inseparable conjunction*;' that kings ought to keep to themselves the power of announcing, as if from themselves alone, the final result of their deliberations with their counsellors. Bacon makes the two parts of the mythological story to denote the two uses of counsel—the one that kings should seek it from others ('*incorporation*'); 'the other' that when found, they should announce it and act upon it, as if it were their own, and their advisers had had nothing to do with it ('*inseparable conjunction*'). In short, the office of counsellors is to give advice, the privilege of the king is to appropriate it as his own.
9. 'resembled'—likened; compared. So Raleigh says: '*Most safely may we resemble ourselves to God.*'
10. 'Cabinet Councils'—not quite as we use the name, but *secret councils*.
11. A sovereign may ask advice, but he is not bound to commit himself either to follow it or reject it; he should receive it silently and impassively.

12. 'unsecreting'—betraying, disclosing.
13. 'I am full of outlets.' The word 'futile' (see note 18, Essay VI) is again used in the sense of *leaky, running out*.
14. 'to grind with a hand-mill'—not to send his business to a public place for everybody's scrutiny, but to do it for himself. In conformity with this explanation, 'inward,' in the next sentence = *secret, confidential*.
15. 'Morton and Fox.' John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor; he was a confidential minister of Henry VII, and helped him in many of his harsh exactions. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, patron of Wolsey, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was in high favour with Henry VII, and had done him service before he came to the English throne.
16. 'the fable'—*i.e.* the story of Jupiter and Metis and the birth of Pallas, the meaning of which, says Bacon, is that kings must get from their counsellors all the advice they can, and then appropriate all the credit of it to themselves.
17. 'holpen'—attended to, seen to; prevented, remedied. So we say, 'I cannot help it,' *i.e.* 'I cannot prevent it.' Cf. 'There is no help for it.'
18. 'He shall not find faith on the earth' (Luke xviii, 8; see also note 32, Essay I). Bacon explains this to mean that at His second advent Christ shall find an unfaithful time or age, but not one in which *every single person is unfaithful*.
19. 'counsel'—give advice (for party interests or with private and selfish objects in view).
20. 'The greatest virtue of a prince is to know his people.' Quoted from Martial, *Epigrams*, viii, 15.
21. 'speculative'—inquisitive, prying.

'Which are to France the spies and speculations
Intelligent of our state'—*King Lear*, III, i.

'All the boats had one *speculator* to give notice when the fish approached'—Broome on the *Odyssey*.

22. 'singular'—special, particular.
23. 'obnoxious to'—liable to be influenced by; liable to. 'Children are more obnoxious to measles than adults.'

'We know ourselves *obnoxious* to God's justice'—CALAMY.

'Long hostility had made their friendship weak in itself, and more *obnoxious* to jealousies and mistrusts'—HAYWARD.

'Beasts lie down
To dews *obnoxious* on the grassy floor'—DRYDEN.

24. 'secundum genera'—*i.e.* generally, altogether, 'in the lump.' He means that a prince ought to try to find out from others the character of men, not of men generally ('*secundum genera*'), but of individual men; not assuming, as in mathe-

mathematical definitions, that what is true of one is true of all. If I know the general qualities of one parallelogram I know those of all other parallelograms; but it is not an analogy to say that therefore if I know the character of one man I know the same of all others.

25. '*The best counsellors are the dead.*' Living men may '*blanch*' (be afraid to speak, turn pale with fear), but a book cannot show this fear.
26. '*actors upon the stage*'—men who have taken prominent parts in public life.
27. '*run too swift*'—the decisions are arrived at and acted on far too hastily.
28. '*There is counsel in the night.*' A man sees through a difficult question more clearly when (as we say) *he has slept on it*, i.e. a night has intervened between the question and his decision on it.
29. '*Attend to the business in hand.*'
30. '*indifferent*'—impartial. It is better to appoint those who will honestly give their decision one way or the other than to refer the matter to an equal number of representatives of both sides, who will (as boards of arbitrators commonly do) decide by compromise and '*split the difference*,' which gives justice and contentment to neither side.
31. '*standing*'—permanent.
32. '*tribunitions*'—obtrusive, declamatory, clamorous; like a *tribune*, whose avowed object was to take the side of the poorer classes.
33. '*form . . . substance*'—no importance . . . material importance.
34. '*take the wind of him*'—take their direction from his own; go with the wind, i.e. conform themselves to his wishes, and flatteringly say '*Placebo*'—*I will please; I will agree with everything you say.*

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XX.

- I. Counsel is a thing of—
 1. Responsibility, more so than '*other confidences.*'
 2. Necessity—things will have '*agitation.*'
- II. Kings should appropriate to their own credit the result of counsel.
- III. Inconveniences of counsel :
 1. It endangers secrecy.
 2. It implies weakness in the prince who asks it.
 3. It opens liability to be wilfully misled.
- IV. The remedies for these :
 1. (*Secrecy.*) A prince must be reserved, even with his counsellors.

2. (*Weakness.*) A prince must be careful to assume all the credit of the counsel given.
 3. (*Misleading.*) Kings should ascertain the character of those of whom they ask counsel.
 - V. The best modes of obtaining counsel :
 1. Not to allow counsellors to be inquisitive.
 2. To take opinions privately as well as collectively.
 3. To take counsel upon *persons* as well as *things*.
 4. To take counsel from books—advisers which will not ‘blanch’ or flatter.
 5. To have set days for petitions and other business.
 6. To choose impartial counsellors rather than compromisers.
 7. To take advice, not dictation, from professional men.
 8. Not to think the mere *form* of the council-room a thing unimportant.
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XXI.—OF DELAYS. (1625.)

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall ; and again, it is some times like Sibylla's offer,¹ which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price ; for ‘*Occasion* (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle*’² after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken :³ or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp.

There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light ;⁴ and more dangers have deceived men than forced them : nay, it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near,⁵ than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches ; for if a man watch too long, it is odds⁶ he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time, or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme.

The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus⁷ with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus⁸ with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto,⁹ which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity, like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXI.

1. 'Sibylla's offer.' The story current among the Romans was that a sibyl, or prophetic woman, came to Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome, offering him nine books for sale, which he refused. She then went away and burnt three, and returning, offered the king the remaining six at the same price, and was again refused. Going away once more, she burnt three of these and then offered the king the remaining three, demanding still the same price as for the original nine. Curiosity being now aroused, the king consented to the purchase.

The Sibylline books were regarded as sacred by the Romans; officers were appointed to take charge of them, and they were consulted in cases of national emergency.

Bacon says that sometimes delay will, by chance, give great advantage to a man, as in dealings in the market; but that at other times he only loses by delay, having to procure a less advantage at the same cost which he once thought too much for a greater, as was the case with Tarquin's purchase of the Sibylline books.

2. 'Occasion turneth a bald noddle'—*i.e. opportunity offers itself only once.* The illustration is that of an old man whose head, otherwise bald, has one lock of hair in front, by which alone it can be held. *Time* is thus commonly represented, and hence the proverb, '*Take Time by the forelock*,' meaning, if you do not do so, *Time* will turn his head the other way, and thus offer you nothing which you can take hold of.

'*Noddle*' is the name applied jocosely or contemptuously to the head, because it is the nodding part of the body. In the same humour we use *nut*, *pate*; and Shakespeare (*Richard III*) uses *pimp*, *i.e.* pimple.

3. 'no hold taken'—an absolute phrase=*no hold having been taken, or when no hold is taken.*
4. A danger is really increased by our thinking little of it, because then our preparation for it is inadequate; and similarly a great danger is lessened when we regard it as great and prepare for it accordingly.
5. 'nothing near'—not at all near; literally, *near by nothing*, 'nothing' being an adverb. Cf. Latin *nihilo, nihilo minus, de nihilo, nihilo aliter.*

'And that would set my teeth *nothing* on edge'

—Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, III, i.

'I fear *nothing* (*i.e. not at all*) what may be said against me'

—*Henry VIII*, I, ii.

'The influence of reason in producing our passions is *nothing near* so extensive as is commonly believed'—BURKE.

6. 'it is odds'—*i.e.* (as we should say) *the chances are; it is more likely than not.* Odds is difference in favour of one and against another; in the expression 'odds and ends' it means the remnants, or odd things, that have been produced by making things match evenly.
7. 'Argus'—surnamed *Panoptes, the all-seeing*; he was a monster with a hundred eyes, appointed by Juno to watch the cow into which the maiden Io had been metamorphosed. The fable is that Juno afterwards transferred the eyes of Argus to the tail of her favourite bird, the peacock.
8. 'Briareus'—a fabulous monster with a hundred hands, who, with his brothers, conquered the Titans when they made war upon the gods.
9. 'helmet of Pluto.' Pluto, the god of the lower world, is said to have had a helmet which rendered the wearer invisible, and which he sometimes lent to both gods and men. With Bacon's association of this with 'secrecy in council,' compare the common expression of *putting one's thinking-cap on.*

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXI.

- I. Delays are—
 1. Sometimes advantageous.
 2. Often hurtful—(three illustrations: *Sibylline books*—*bald head*—*bottle*).
- II. The true wisdom is to know the limits of delay, for—
 1. To be unprepared for danger is to increase it, while—
 2. Often to make preparation for danger is to suggest it.
- III. Preparation should be secret, and execution swift, like the motion of a bullet.

XXII.—OF CUNNING. (1612, *re-written* 1625.)

WE take¹ Cunning² for a sinister, or crooked wisdom;³ and certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards,⁴ and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions,⁵ that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men⁶ are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley:⁷ turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, '*Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*,'⁸ doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers⁹ of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of Cunning to wait upon¹⁰ him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes,¹¹ as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch,¹² you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a Counsellor¹³ and Secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate,¹⁴ that she mought¹⁵ the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things¹⁶ when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross¹⁷ a business that he doubts some

other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up,¹⁸ breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait¹⁹ for a question by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, '*And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*'

In things that are tender²⁰ and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of Cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, '*The world says,*' or '*There is a speech abroad.*'

I knew one, that when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.²¹

I knew another, that when he came to have speech, he would pass over that he intended most; and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like²² the party that they work upon²³ will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed²⁴ of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of Cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the Secretary's place, in Queen

Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter²⁵ between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a Secretary in *the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in *the declination of a monarchy*. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen; who, hearing of *a declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a Cunning, which we in England call '*The turning of the cat in the pan*;' ²⁶ which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, '*This I do not*;' as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, '*Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare*.' ²⁷

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of Cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; ²⁸ for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, ²⁹ and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, ³⁰ another suddenly came behind him and called

him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of Cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls³¹ of business that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses³² in the conclusion, but are noways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction.³³ Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them,³⁴ than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, '*Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.*'³⁵

NOTES ON ESSAY XXII.

1. 'take'—understand; receive (with the mind, in a certain sense). Cf. *to take* a thing for granted; *to take* a word in a certain sense; *to take* a thing in good part.

This use of the verb in reference to the mind is best seen in its opposite—*mistake*.

2. 'Cunning.' This word, now degraded to a bad meaning, was formerly used in a good sense for *skill*, *cleverness*. In Bacon's time it had not entirely lost this meaning, as is evident from his thinking it necessary to explain that he uses the word '*for a sinister and crooked wisdom.*'

The words *crafty* and *artful* have gone through precisely the same degradation of meaning.

Cunning (from Old English *cunman*, *to know*) is connected with *can*, *ken*, *canny*. (Cf. *king*, and Latin *cognosco*.) It is used (substantive or adjective) in a good sense in the passages:

'Let my right hand forget her *cunning*'—*Ps.* cxxxvii, 5.

'I do present you with a man of mine,

Cunning in music'—SHAKESPEARE.

'Send me now, therefore, a man *cunning* to work in gold and silver'
—2 *Chron.* ii, 7.

3. 'sinister or crooked wisdom.' *Sinister* really means *left-handed*, *awkward* (opposite to *dexterous*=right-handed), and

then *inauspicious, disastrous*—hence its meaning, which it bears in this passage, of *wicked, dishonest, evil*.

Crooked, in its moral sense, is the opposite of *right*, just as physically it is the opposite of *straight*. The straightforward path of duty is the *right* way to walk in; when a man departs from this way, and endeavours to obtain his end by improper means, we say he is following *crooked courses*.

In the next sentence Bacon says that cunning practices are a mark not only of dishonesty but of inability.

4. '**pack the cards**'—to arrange the cards fraudulently with the view of securing the game. We still retain the word *pack* in its bad sense: *to pack* a jury; *a pack* of thieves; *a packed* assembly; *to pack off* (*i.e.* to send away unceremoniously).
5. '**canvasses and factions**'—successes sought by soliciting individuals and forming parties, not by openly contesting great questions and principles.
6. '**such men**'—those who study and try to win over individual men.
7. '**alley**'—*i.e.* bowling-alley. He means that there are some bad players who can yet play bowls well on ground to which they are accustomed, but they soon manifest their want of skill when they have to play on strange ground. The word '*aim*,' used immediately afterwards, bears out this explanation.
8. '*Send them both naked among strangers and you will see.*'
9. '**haberdashers**'—*i.e.* small traders, petty retail dealers; now the word is restricted to linendrapers. The derivation of the word is doubtful; it is said to have come from the habit of the Flemings who settled in England in the fourteenth century of standing at their shop-doors and accosting the passers-by with '*Haber das heer?*'—'*Will you take this, sir?*'
Bacon's meaning is, *Because these cunning men are like haberdashers, and deal in petty tricks, it will be well for me to expose some of those tricks which they commonly keep in stock.*
10. '**wait upon**'—watch closely, observe narrowly.
11. Yet this ought to be done so as not to attract notice, but should give place to an affectation of modesty and timidity if the person seems to suspect that he is being watched.
12. '**present dispatch**'—pressing importance.
13. '**Counsellor**.' He probably is referring to Walsingham, who was both a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, whom he served with arduous fidelity. He was a man of subtle policy, with agents and spies in almost every court; and it was said of him that '*he outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own equivocation.*'
14. '**discourse of estate**'—conversation upon affairs of state.
15. '**mought**'—obsolete form of *might*.

16. 'moving things'—bringing forward matters.
17. 'cross'—thwart.
18. 'took himself up'—checked himself.
19. 'lay a bait'—set a trap, offer an enticement: *bait* is connected with the verb *bite*. The reference is to *Neh.* ii, 1.
20. 'tender'—delicate; requiring great care in handling.

Bacon illustrates his meaning by referring to Narcissus, who was a freedman of the Emperor Claudius and a servile panderer to his master's vices. Messalina, the wife of Claudius, formed a wicked attachment with Caius Silius, and compelled him to divorce his wife for her sake. Narcissus cautiously disclosed the matter to the emperor, and Silius was put to death.

21. 'by-matter'—something not of material consequence; something beside the real object of the letter.

Notice that the sentence here used is ungrammatical, *that* and *he* being both nominatives to the verb *would*, and therefore the latter of them unnecessary.

22. 'like'—likely.
23. 'work upon'—desire to entrap.
24. 'apposed'—questioned; examined. The examiner, whose business it is to put questions in the Court of Exchequer, is called *the apposer*.

An instance of the trick which Bacon here exposes is the conduct of Edmund, the bastard son of the Earl of Gloster, in *King Lear*, I, ii.

25. 'kept good quarter'—kept on good terms. See note 14, Essay X.
26. 'cat in the pan'—*i.e.* the *cate* (or *cake*) in the frying-pan. The allusion is to the dexterity of cooks, who turn pan-cates (pan-cakes) by tossing. The word *cate* is connected with *cater*, *caterer* (Fr. *achater*), *juncate*.

'Though my *cates* be mean, take them in good part'

—Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, III, 1.

27. 'That he did not have divergent aims, but looked solely to the safety of the emperor.' The quotation is from Tacitus' *Annals*, xiv, 57.

Burrhus was prefect of the Prætorian Guards, and Tigellinus was an unprincipled minister and flatterer of Nero.

28. As we say, to *put leading questions*, *i.e.* questions which suggest their own answers.
29. 'fetch'—go round; 'beat about the bush.'
30. 'Paul's'—St Paul's Cathedral, which at this time was a common place for promenade, gossip, and traffic.
31. 'resorts and falls'—devices to be resorted to and risks to be avoided. He means that many cunning men, knowing a few of the common devices and dangers of business, are enabled

- at first to command some success, but have no power of general management.
32. 'find out pretty looses'—*discharge from their bow at a venture some shafts which seem well aimed.*
'Loose' is a name now obsolete for *discharge*. 'In throwing a dart or javelin we force back our arms to make our loose the stronger'—BEN JONSON.
33. 'wits of direction'—clever men able to direct others.
34. 'putting tricks upon them'—imposing on them; playing tricks. So in the *Tempest*, Stephano says, on first seeing Caliban, 'Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind?'
35. 'The wise man gives heed to his own footsteps; the fool turns aside to deceit'—Prov. xiv, 15; Eccles. xiv, 2.
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ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXII.

- I. Cunning is a sinister or crooked wisdom which deserves to be exposed.
- II. Exposure of the 'points of cunning,' among which are :
1. Closely watching your hearer's features.
 2. Diverting attention from your real object.
 3. Trying to carry your business in the confusion of hurry.
 4. Crossing a business by downright treachery.
 5. Craftily creating appetite for what you wish.
 6. Enticing your hearer to ask you a question for your own ends.
 7. Using others to prepare for what you wish to say.
 8. Referring vaguely to your wish as a general rumour.
 9. Giving prominence to what you wish by making it appear—
 - (a.) A mere postscript.
 - (b.) A matter almost forgotten and overlooked ; or,
 - (c.) The disclosure of which seems to result from surprise.
 10. Hurting your rival by—
 - (a.) Leading him into some ill-judged remark.
 - (b.) The 'cat in the pan' trick, *i.e.* making it impossible to know which of you originated the mischief.
 11. Attacking your rival under the mask of self-defence.
 12. Hiding what you really mean in a tale.
 13. Putting the answer you wish to have into your rival's mouth.
 14. Cautiously approaching what you wish to say.
 15. Trying to surprise by suddenness.
- III. All these petty tricks, however, do not constitute ability, and the wise man avoids them.

XXIII.—OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

(1612, *enlarged* 1625.)

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd¹ thing in an orchard² or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between Self-love and Society;³ and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth;⁴ for that only stands fast upon his own⁵ centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune;⁶ but it is a desperate⁷ evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to⁸ the ends of his master or state; therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark;⁹ except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's:¹⁰ and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl,¹¹ of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, as it were¹² but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times

hold credit with their masters because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, '*sui amantes, sine rivali*,'¹⁸ are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of Fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXIII.

1. 'shrewd'—injurious, mischievous, vicious; it properly means *cursed*, from the verb *beskrew*. So in Shakespeare: '*Her eldest sister is so cursed and shrewd.*'

*'Beskrew thee, cousin, which did'st lead me forth
Of that sweet way I was in to despair'*—SHAKESPEARE.

2. 'orchard'—i.e. wort-yard. Cf. *vineyard*.
3. *Take carefully the mean between the two extremes of selfishness and recklessness.*

Every man owes a duty to himself as well as a duty to others, nor is he a selfish man who looks rigidly after the preservation of what is due to himself. Religion and social economy give their sanction to both these duties: '*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*' And in society we are all bound together so closely and our interests so interlace that it is perfectly true that the man who most earnestly consults his own interests, most efficiently secures, at the same time, those of the community at large. National prosperity is the aggregate of a number of instances of individual prosperity. Misers, beggars, and spendthrifts are alike the *ants* of society, and '*waste the public.*' Nothing which inflicts injury on the nation can be of permanent benefit to any person or class of persons in the nation, and selfishness consists in seizing our own benefit regardless of its ultimate effect upon the whole community. This has too often been the case in what are

called *strikes*; too high wages and too low wages are both evils to be dreaded as utterly incompatible with permanent prosperity in trade; if low wages deteriorate workmanship, trade suffers, though in the interim employers may perhaps have made large profits; and if strikes or other combinations force wages up abnormally high, so that trade is driven out of the country, the workmen themselves must ultimately suffer, although in the interim they may have temporarily secured a very high rate of wages.

4. 'right earth'—exactly what the earth does, maintains itself as the centre of the universe. Bacon here distinctly adopts the Ptolemaic system of astronomy against the Copernican (see note 19, Essay XV; and 13, XVII).

Right is here an adverb (Latin *recte*), as in *Go right on*; *You have not been taught right*. 'The people passed over right against Jericho'—*Josh.* iii, 16.

5. 'his own'—for *its own*, as we should now say. But *its* is a modern and really incorrect word of very rare occurrence in the literature of this period. We have now made it the possessive case of the neuter pronoun *it*, corresponding to the masculine and feminine *his* and *her*. Before the form *its* was coined the old form *it* was used:

'Do, child, go to *it* grandam'—Shakespeare's *King John*.

'The day present hath ever enough to do with *it own* grief'

—*Matt.* vi, 34 (*Geneva ver.*).

'*It* knighthood shall do worse'—BEN JONSON.

'*It* shall fright all *it* friends with borrowing letters'—BEN JONSON.

Or the pronoun *his* was used:

'Every seed after *his* kind'—*Gen.* i, 11.

'The iron gate opened unto them of *his own* accord'—*Acts* xii, 10.

6. *Because the public interests are more directly involved with their own.*
7. 'desperate'—heinous, extremely bad.
8. 'eccentric to'—not coinciding with. His master's or the public interests revolve around a certain centre, his own interests around another centre, so that they must necessarily cross and clash with one another.
9. 'mark'—characteristic of selfishness. If he does choose a self-seeking servant he must know that just as two circles with different centres can only partially coincide with one another, so he must expect his own interests to be 'accessary,' *i.e.* disregarded except when they happen to coincide with his servant's interests.
10. Thus, a corrupt judge will thwart the ends of justice (which is a very serious matter) for the sake of pocketing a bribe himself (which is a very paltry matter).

But the evils referred to may perhaps be best seen in some department of life, the actual administration of which has to be entirely entrusted to others, and which therefore is very liable to be vitiated by want of integrity in the subordinates employed—*horse-racing* for example. There can be no doubt that this sport, in itself legitimate and beneficial, has been thoroughly demoralised and degraded in the public estimation, mainly by the unprincipled practices that are too often associated with it. The owner of the best horse in the field may lose the race, and thousands of pounds in consequence, if the jockey employed to ride for him is an unprincipled man, whose bets or bribe will bring him in an additional fifty pounds in the event of his own master losing.

11. 'bias upon their bowl'—what, in cricket and other like games, is called '*giving the ball a twist*,' i.e. sending it in a different direction from that of the propelling force. Bacon's illustration is taken from the game of bowls.
12. 'an it were'—*if it were, even were it*. *An* is said by some philologists to be the imperative of an Old English verb *unnan*, to grant or give; just as from *give* we get *if* (formerly *gif*) and *gin* (=given; '*gin* a body kiss a body'—*Popular song*). It may however be nothing more than the common conjunction *and*, and equivalent to *even*.

'It dies, *and if* (even if) it had a thousand lives'—1 *Henry VI*, V, iv, 75.

13. '*Lovers of themselves without a rival*.'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXIII.

1. Self-love ought to be co-ordinate with love for others.
2. In kings it is excusable, but in their subordinates pernicious.
3. Self-love is a depraved thing (most fitly compared to instincts of rats, foxes, crocodiles, and often ruinous to its practiser).

XXIV.—OF INNOVATIONS.¹ (1625.)

As the births² of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of Time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation;³ for Ill (to man's nature as it

stands perverted) hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but Good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an Innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for Time is the greatest innovator; and if Time of course⁴ alter things to the worse, and Wisdom and Counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit;⁵ and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well;⁶ but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired⁷ and less favoured.

All this is true, if Time stood still: which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention⁸ of custom is as turbulent⁹ a thing as an Innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn¹⁰ to the new.

It were good, therefore, that men in their Innovations would follow the example of Time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some and pairs¹¹ other; and he that is holpen,¹² takes it for a fortune,¹³ and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth¹⁴ the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect,¹⁵ and, as the Scripture saith, '*That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*'¹⁶

NOTES ON ESSAY XXIV.

1. 'innovations'—the introduction of changes or novelties into anything established by custom.

The naturally conservative tendencies of mankind have made the word *innovation* almost always synonymous with *a change for the worse*. Bacon's reference below to medicine as 'an innovation,' is so apologetic, that it can hardly be regarded as an exception to the rule.

2. 'births'—offspring, young. The word *birth*, commonly used to denote the act of coming into life, is here used for *that which is born*.

'Poets are far rarer *births* than kings'—BEN JONSON.

3. 'seldom attained by imitation'—*i.e.* the excellence of that which comes first is seldom equalled by what follows.

Bacon's belief, according to what he says immediately afterwards, is, that man's nature is so perverse and depraved that nothing but evil can have a permanently strong influence over him; and that goodness is never natural to him (being '*a forced motion*'), and its influence gets weaker and weaker. This is a very gloomy, and, it is to be hoped, incorrect doctrine: the truth seems to be that both good and evil impulses act at first with more energy and violence, but that afterwards the impulses become moulded into habits ('*in continuance*'), which are far stronger, but work with less violence.

4. 'of course'—in its natural course.
5. 'it is fit'—other things have settled down in conformity with it, and though in theory it may seem indefensible, yet in practice it is found to work very well.

Thus the system of purchase in the army was in theory thoroughly unsound, and yet it worked well, and gave to the army the inestimable advantage of thoroughly excellent and high-class officers.

And the '*pocket-boroughs*,' as part of a supposed system of election of members of Parliament, were a great scandal, but there can be no doubt that in very many instances they were the means of sending to Parliament men of greater abilities, higher statesmanship, and larger and more solid knowledge of political affairs, than many of those who are now returned by a system of thoroughly popular election.

6. 'piece not so well'—do not fit in so exactly with other pieces.
7. 'admired'—wondered at.

'You have displaced the mirth, broke the good meeting.
With most *admir'd* disorder'—Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, III, iv.

8. 'froward retention'—obstinate retaining (of things which really need removal).
9. 'turbulent'—troublesome, irksome.
10. 'scorn'—laughing-stock, object of scorn.
11. 'pairs'—impairs, injures. So *pairer* is an obsolete word for *injurer*, and *pairment* for *injury*.

The verbs *pair* and *impair* seem used as synonymous by Spenser. They have different origin, *pair* in this sense being connected with French *pire*, Latin *pejor*, and *impair* with Latin *par*, *paris*.

'Despair breeds not (quoth he) where faith is staid.

No faith so fast (quoth she) but flesh does *paire*.

Flesh may *empaïre* (quoth he), but reason can *repaïre*'

—*Faerie Queene*, vii, 41.

12. 'holpen'—now obsolete; but certainly more euphonious than the modern word *helped*, which moreover is ambiguous, the same form standing for *past tense* and *perfect participle*.
13. 'fortune'—stroke of good luck.
14. 'pretendeth'—is used as a pretext for.
15. 'suspect'—person under suspicion. *If a novelty is forced on you, yet you should regard it as a thing untried, and of whose fitness it is well to be suspicious.*
We also use *convict* for a *convicted person*; *content* (*House of Lords*) for a *contented person*; and *graduate* for a person who has *graduated*.
16. Quoted, but not accurately, from *Jer.* vi, 16.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXIV.

I. Considerations—

A. In favour of innovations:

1. They are necessitated by the course of time.
2. They are better than imitations.
3. They are suitable for the cure of new evils.

B. Against them:

1. They remove things which, if not *good*, are yet *fit*.
2. And substitute things that are strange and less favoured.

II. The true mode of innovation:

1. To change very gradually, as time does.
2. To change, only on urgent necessity or evident utility.
3. To beware that the reformation gives the desire for change, not *vice versa*.
4. Though not always rejecting novelty, yet always to suspect it.

XXV.—OF DISPATCH. (1612.)

AFFECTED Dispatch¹ is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be : it is like that which the physicians call *predigestion*, or *hasty digestion*, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities,² and secret seeds of diseases : therefore measure not Dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business : and as in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift,³ that makes the speed ; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth Dispatch. It is the care of some, only to come off speedily for the time,⁴ or to contrive some false periods of business,⁵ because they may seem men of Dispatch : but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting,⁶ another by cutting off ; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, '*Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*'⁷

On the other side, true Dispatch is a rich thing ; for time is the measure of business,⁸ as money is of wares ; and business is bought at a dear hand⁹ where there is small Dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small Dispatch : '*Mi venga la muerte de Spagna ;*'—'*Let my death come from Spain ;*' for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches ; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon¹⁰ his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course ; but sometimes it is seen that the Moderator¹¹ is more troublesome than the Actor.

Iterations¹² are commonly loss of time ; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the

question ; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious¹³ speeches are as fit for Dispatch as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages,¹⁴ and excusations,¹⁵ and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time ; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.¹⁶ Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction in men's wills ;¹⁷ for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the ungent¹⁸ enter.

Above all things, order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of Dispatch ; so as the distribution be not too subtil :¹⁹ for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business ; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time, is to save time ; and an unseasonable motion²⁰ is but beating the air. There be three parts of business : the preparation ; the debate, or examination ; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for Dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding, upon somewhat conceived in writing,²¹ doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch ; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction²² than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXV.

1. 'Affected Dispatch'—*i.e.* a great desire to make haste. *Affected* is from the verb *to affect*, which means *to wish for, aim at, seek after*. See note 4, Essay I.
Bacon's meaning coincides with that of the proverb, '*More haste, less speed.*'
2. 'crudities'—undigested food ; food not brought by the stomach into a proper form for giving nourishment.
3. 'lift'—the lifting of the feet in walking or running.
4. 'for the time'—as regards the time, *i.e.* only to have the business over quickly ; not to do it well, but to get rid of it as soon as possible.

5. 'contrive some false periods of business'—pretend the business is done when really it is not done.
6. 'contracting'—compressing; keeping to the point; preventing the business from straying off from the real matter at issue. To break off a matter before it is really finished is designated by Bacon 'cutting off'; and he says that business so treated cannot but be delayed, because time is wasted in resuming it at the next meeting or sitting.
7. In his *Apophthegms* Bacon says: '*Sir Amyas Paulet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, "Stay a while that we may make an end the sooner."*'
Sir Amyas Paulet was Queen Elizabeth's ambassador at the court of France; with him Bacon was placed in 1576 by his father.
8. 'time is the measure of business'—it is to business just what money is to trade—the standard by which it is measured.
9. 'at a dear hand'—expensively, at a high price. Cf. the expressions *second-hand, on hand*.
10. 'waits upon'—attends upon, waits for (*while he is trying to recollect what your interruption has driven from his memory*).
11. 'Moderator'—*examiner, questioner*; or, the one who presides at an examination. The word is still used in this sense at the universities, and at Oxford one of the public examinations is called *Moderations*.
The word *Actor* is also a term of university origin for *examinee*—the one who is performing his 'act' or exercise before taking his degree.
12. 'iterations'—repeatings; saying the same thing over and over again. We commonly intensify the word by a prefix—*reiteration*.
Bacon says that these repetitions are commonly a waste of time, but that it is a great gain of time to reiterate continually what is the precise point under consideration, so as to check rambling and impertinent speeches.
13. 'curious'—elaborate; carefully designed not to throw light upon the matter in hand, but to draw attention to their own cleverness.
14. 'passages'—perhaps = *quotations, anecdotes*; or, irrelevant passages introduced in passing from one part of a subject to another.
15. 'excusations'—apologies, personal explanations.
16. 'bravery'—bragging, ostentation.
17. Yet carefully avoid coming bluntly to the point when you have to deal with prejudice ('*pre-occupation*') in your hearers, and they are disposed to resent your words; in such a case an irrelevant preamble is sometimes useful.
18. 'unguent'—ointment.

19. 'subtle'—intricate. Method and arrangement are helps; but when applied in excess they become a hindrance.
20. 'unseasonable motion'—moving in a matter at an unsuitable time, which can do no good, and is merely waste trouble.
21. 'somewhat conceived in writing'—a scheme of the business (or paper of *agenda*) previously prepared.
22. 'pregnant of direction'—suggestive of the best course to adopt.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXV.

- I. Dispatch in business must be measured by the real and ultimate saving of time, not by the immediate saving.
 - II. The means for securing dispatch are—
 1. Patience at the outset.
 2. Keeping carefully to the point at issue, except when divergence may conciliate opposition.
 3. Method and arrangement of subject for consideration.
 4. Keeping the preparation and execution in the hands of a few.
 5. Previously preparing statement of *agenda*.
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XXVI.—OF SEEMING WISE. (1612.)

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man;¹ for as the Apostle saith of godliness, '*Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof*;' ² so certainly there are, ³ in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly; '*magno conatu nugas*.'⁴

It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment,⁵ to see what shifts these formalists⁶ have, and what prospectives⁷ to make superficies to seem body, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem almost to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others

to know of that which they may not well speak.⁸ Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; '*Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio; crudelitatem tibi non placere.*'⁹ Some think to bear it¹⁰ by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious;¹¹ and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter;¹² of whom A. Gellius saith, '*Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.*'¹³ Of which kind¹⁴ also Plato, in his *Protagoras*, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease¹⁵ to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work: which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar,¹⁶ hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency.

Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion;¹⁷ but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.¹⁸

NOTES ON ESSAY XXVI.

1. 'between man and man'—with regard to individual men.
2. 2 *Tim.* iii, 5.
3. 'there are'—*i.e.* there are *some men* who, when their profes-

sion of wisdom or ability is put to the test, are found to have made a great fuss about nothing.

4. (*Perform*) *trifles with great effort*.
5. 'judgment'—discernment; power of distinguishing between real things and shams.
6. 'formalists'—persons who try to impose upon others by mere appearances.
7. 'prospectives' or *perspectives* (sometimes also *perspicils*)—optical glasses, such as we now call *telescopes* and *stereoscopes*. Bacon here seems to refer to the latter, which are optical instruments constructed so as to give to pictures the appearance of solid forms as seen in nature.

'One face, one voice, one habit, and two persons,
A natural *perspective* that is and is not'—*Twelfth Night*.

'For Sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears,
Divides one thing entire to many objects;
Like *perspectives* which, rightly gazed upon,
Show nothing but confusion, eyed awry
Distinguish form'—Shakespeare's *Richard II.*

8. *When they are conscious that they are speaking of something which they are ignorant of, they speak vaguely and obscurely, with the object of deceiving others into the belief that they really know something about it, but are prevented by some reason or other from speaking freely.*
9. *'With one eyebrow raised to your forehead, the other lowered to your chin, you answer that you do not approve of cruelty'*—Cicero, *In Pisonem*, vi.
10. 'bear it'—carry their point by force; overbear others. He is speaking of those who try to make a reputation for cleverness by using big words, and being dogmatic ('*peremptory*') and blustering ('*go on*'); and impudently assuming for granted ('*take by admittance*') that which they are unable to prove and maintain ('*make good*').
11. 'impertinent or curious'—*either beside the point, or else a subtle nicety that they decline to take any notice of.*
12. Some are for ever introducing verbal quibbles and trivial distinctions, designed craftily to divert attention from the real subject, and to gloss over their ignorance.
13. *'A foolish man who fritters away the weight of matters by nice quibbles upon words.'*

Aulus Gellius was a Roman writer of the second century, who wrote *Noctes Atticæ*, a book consisting partly of miscellaneous passages selected from ancient authors and partly of original observations by the compiler.

It is said that the quotation is incorrectly assigned to Aulus Gellius, and is from Quintilian (x, 1), a famous Roman rhetorician of the first century.

14. 'of which kind'—*as an example of which class of men.* Plato

- (B.C. 429-347), in one of his dialogues, called *Protagoras* (after one of the principal characters introduced in it, who was a celebrated sophist at Athens), brings forward Prodicus, who talks with great affectation of eloquence, and is extremely nice in his choice of words.
15. 'find ease,' etc.—find it easier to deny the statements of others than to advance and maintain statements of their own, and try to get a reputation ('*affect a credit*') by objecting and interposing difficulties when others speak.
 16. 'inward beggar'—a secret beggar; one who really lives by what he can get from others, and yet adopts numerous crafty devices to hide the fact that he is a beggar.
 17. 'make shift to get opinion'—manage to earn a reputation.
 18. *You had better employ a man who is content to be thought a fool than one who is such but tries to conceal it.*
 'You were better' is an obsolete impersonal construction, meaning (*it*) were better (*for*) you; like *if you please* for *if (it) please you*—or *me seems* for (*to*) *me (it) seems*.

'Thou wert better gall the devil'—*King John*, IV, iii, 95.

'I were best leave him'—*Henry VI*, V, iii, 82.

'You were best go to bed'—*Henry VI*, V, i, 196.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXVI.

- I. Some men, if not whole nations, try to appear wiser than they really are.
- II. The devices commonly used for this purpose :
 1. Feigned reserve.
 2. Affectation of mystery by countenance and gesture.
 3. Peremptoriness and bluster.
 4. Pretence of despising what is said by others.
 5. Crafty quibbling about words.
 6. Resorting to the negative plan of objecting to what is said by others.
- III. Such persons ought not to be employed, for they are worse servants than downright fools.

XXVII.—OF FRIENDSHIP. (1612, re-written 1625.)

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words that in that speech, '*Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god*;' ¹ for it is most true, that a natural and

secret hatred and aversion towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast ; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation ;² such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen ; as Epimenides,³ the Candian ; Numa, the Roman ; Empedocles, the Sicilian ; and Apollonius of Tyana ; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy Fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth ; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it⁴ a little, '*Magna civitas, magna solitudo* ;' because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods : but we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere⁵ and miserable solitude to want⁶ true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness ; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh⁷ it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of Friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body ; and it is not much otherwise in the mind ; you may take sarza⁸ to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain ; but no receipt⁹ openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift¹⁰ or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of Friendship whereof we speak : so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness :

for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience.¹¹ The modern languages give unto such persons the name of Favourites, or Privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation ;¹² but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them '*Participes curarum*,'¹³ for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla,¹⁴ when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch ; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet ; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.

With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew ; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death : for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calphurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream ; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's *Philippics*, calleth him '*venifica*'—'*witch* ;' as if he had enchanted Cæsar.

Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the

marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenus took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life : there was no third way, he had made him so great.

With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, '*Hæc pro amicitia nostrâ non occultavi*;' and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two.

The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: '*I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.*'

Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of Friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus¹⁵ observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish¹⁶ his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable¹⁷ of Pythagoras is dark, but true, '*Cor ne edito*'—'*eat not the heart.*' Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to

open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts : but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of Friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects ; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves : for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more ; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature : but yet, without praying in¹⁸ aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature ; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action ; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression ; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of Friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections ; for Friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts : neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend ; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another ; he tosseth his thoughts more easily ; he marshalleth them more orderly ; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words : finally, he waxeth wiser than himself ;¹⁹ and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, that *'speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad ; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure ;²⁰ whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.'* Neither is this second fruit of Friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they indeed are best) : but even without that a man learneth



of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua²¹ or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of Friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation : which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus²² saith well in one of his enigmas, '*Dry light is ever the best.*' and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment ; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer ; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts ; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business : for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive ; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead ; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case ; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune : for, as St James saith, they are as men '*that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.*'²³ As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one ; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker on ; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that has said over the four-and-twenty letters ;²⁴ or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon

a rest;²⁶ and such other fond²⁶ and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight: and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all); but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience: and therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of Friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life²⁷ the manifold use of Friendship, is to cast²⁸ and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, '*that a friend is another himself*:' for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart;²⁹ the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it

were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place: but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there, which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms:³⁰ whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule,—where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.³¹

NOTES ON ESSAY XXVII.

1. The quotation is from Aristotle (*Politics*, i, 1): '*He that cannot associate with others, and by reason of his self-sufficing powers has no need to do so, is no part of a State: wherefore such a man is either a beast or a god.*'

The '*untruth*' which Bacon complains of in this is, that Aristotle (whose philosophy he seems to have disliked) allows that a preference for solitary life may be a mark of superiority to human weakness, which, as a rule, craves for and needs society; this superiority Bacon indignantly denies, except in cases where seclusion is sought for the purpose of spiritual contemplation.

2. '*conversation*'—intercourse, familiarity. '*The conversation with the best company*'—DRYDEN. And in a bad sense:

'His open guilt, his conversation with Shore's wife'
—Shakespeare's *Richard III.*

3. '*Epimenides*'—a Cretan poet (about 600 years B.C.), and one of the most remarkable men of the ancient world. The facts of his life are unfortunately obscured by a number of improbable legends. He appears to have enjoyed the reputation of a prophet, and was said to have been in a preternatural sleep

for more than fifty years. He acquired great influence over his fellow-countrymen by the simple, austere, and unselfish character of his life.

He is of interest to the Christian reader as the poet from whom St Paul quotes a passage (*Titus* i, 12) in reference to the depraved and perfidious character of the Cretans or Candians.

* **Numa Pompilius** 'was one of the early mythical kings of Rome, and the founder of the religious institutions of the Romans, which he is said to have received by inspiration from the goddess-nymph Egeria in a grove near Rome.

* **Empedocles**, a Greek philosopher of Agrigentum, in Sicily (about B.C. 460), is said to have been skilled in poetry, philosophy, and medicine, and to have possessed great influence.

* **Apollonius** 'of Tyana (see note 11, Essay XIX) was supposed to possess miraculous powers, and an attempt was made by the Empress Julia Domna to revive the old mythology and heathen worship in connection with his name.

When Bacon speaks of the influence of these men as *false and feigned*, classing with them '*hermits and holy fathers of the Church*,' he doubtless refers not to any pretensions which they themselves advanced, but to powers which were superstitiously attributed to them by others.

4. '**meeteth with it**'—touches the point; '*hits it*,' as we say.

The Latin proverb is, '*A great city is a great solitude.*'

5. '**mere**'—entire, downright. (See note 16, Essay II.)

6. '**to want**'—i.e. to lack; implying the *desire* to have without the *power*.

7. '**taketh**'—receiveth. Cf. *to take food, take cold, take a fever, to take after* (one's father or mother).

8. '**sarza**.' Sarsaparilla (from Spanish *sarza*, a bramble, and *parilla*, a vine; or else *Parillo*, the name of the physician who first discovered its use) is a Mexican plant, from whose root a valuable medicine is prepared.

* '**flower of sulphur**.' The *flower* is the best and choicest part of anything, hence *the flower of an army, the flower of life*, etc., and *flower* (or *flour*) of *wheat*. Hence formerly the word was applied in chemistry to the mealy substance constituting the best part of something, and obtained by sublimation, as *flowers of sulphur*.

* '**castoreum**,' or castor, a substance of strong smell and bitter taste, and supposed antispasmodic tendencies, obtained from the beaver.

The word has no connection with *castor-oil*, which is a corruption of *castus-oil*.

9. '**receipt**'—medicine prescribed.

10. '**civil shrift**'—friendly confession; opposed to *shrift*, i.e. clerical confession.

11. '**sorteth to inconvenience**'—leads to trouble.

12. *As if such favouritism originated merely in the conferring of a favour, or the desire for friendly intercourse. But (he goes on to say) the real origin is an earnest wish to share anxieties with another.*
13. 'Sharers of anxieties.'
14. Bacon now gives several instances of what he has called the 'inconvenience' of princes raising their inferiors to equality and intimate friendship.
- 'Lucius Sylla' (B.C. 138-78), the famous dictator of Rome, who conferred upon Pompey, his friend and colleague, the title of *imperator*, and was afterwards openly opposed by him.
- 'Julius Cæsar' (B.C. 100-44), who, after having made Brutus his friend, and his heir next after his nephew ('*heir in remainder*'), was conspired against and murdered by him and his associates.
- 'Augustus' (B.C. 63 to A.D. 14), first emperor of Rome, and the 'nephew' (*i.e.* grand-nephew) of Julius Cæsar above referred to, who made Agrippa his associate and friend, and gave him his daughter Julia in marriage.
- 'Tiberius' (B.C. 42 to A.D. 37), Roman emperor, who made the infamous Sejanus his associate and friend and the panderer to his scandalous licentiousness, and who at last conspired against him, and was put to death. To Sejanus he wrote: '*These things, by reason of our friendship, I have not hidden from you.*'
- 'Septimius Severus' (A.D. 146-211), Roman emperor, whose friendship with Plautianus, the prefect of the Prætorian Guard, was cemented by a family marriage, and ultimately resulted in putting his friend to death.
- Bacon calls all these '*wise men*,' not in a compliment to their moral qualities or real *wisdom*, as we understand it, but because of their *cleverness and ability*.
15. 'Comineus.' Philippe de Comines, a great French historian (A.D. 1447-1511). He served under Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, by whom he was sent as ambassador to the French court. He subsequently entered the service of Louis XI of France. His *Mémoires* are valuable as giving a vivid and authentic account of the principal events and general character of the age in which he lived.
16. 'perish'—destroy. The use of this verb thus as *transitive* is rare.

'Because thy flinty heart, more hard than they,
Might in thy palace *perish* Margaret'

—*Henry VI*, III, ii, 100.

17. 'parable'—figurative saying, metaphor.
18. 'praying in'—calling in. *To pray in aid* is the legal term for calling in for help one who has interest in the cause. The reference is to the ancient practice of alchemy, which had for

its object not only the transmutation of metals into gold, but the discovery of a supposed substance (the *philosopher's stone*) which was a universal remedy for all bodily ills.

19. 'wiser than himself'—wiser than he could be without the counsel of his friend.

20. 'in figure'—*i.e.* in an open cloth all the figures of the pattern appear *distinctly*. That this is the meaning is evident from the equivalent in the Latin text (*distincte*).

The story is taken from North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, but it is of course an anachronism to make Themistocles refer to 'cloth of Arras,' which was not manufactured before the fourteenth century.

21. 'statue'—old form of *statue*.

'Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
That all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell'—*Julius Cæsar*.

The meaning is: *It would be far better for a man to stand before a statue or picture, and utter his thoughts to it than to keep them unuttered.*

22. 'Heraclitus.' He was a Greek philosopher belonging to the Ionian school, and flourished at Ephesus about B.C. 500. His fundamental doctrine was that fire was the original element of all things, and the universal agent. It is uncertain whether this saying of his ('*Dry light is the best*') has been correctly handed down to us, or if so, what is its exact purport. Perhaps he simply means that light is clearest when not obscured by passing through a damp, vaporous atmosphere. Bacon's application of the figure is, that a man's thoughts are vague and obscure so long as he keeps them to himself ('*drenched in his affections and customs*'), but become clear and dry in passing from him to his friend.

23. *James i, 24.*

24. A man speaking in anger is sure to speak rashly, and hence the old advice that an angry man should repeat the letters of the alphabet before speaking in order to give time for his wrath to cool and his discretion to arouse itself. This counsel is pleasantly set forth in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* by Mr Meagles: '*Not quite in a good temper, Tattycoram! Take a little time; count five-and-twenty.*'

25. In Bacon's time muskets were fired not when held in the hand, as now, but fixed upon stands called '*rests*.' Modern marksmen have made Bacon's '*fond and high imagination*' come perfectly true.

26. 'fond'—foolish.

'He was beaten out of all love of learning by a *fond* schoolmaster'
—ASCHAM.

'Tis *fond* to wail inevitable strokes'—*Coriolanus*.

'Tamer than sleep, *fonder* than ignorance'—SHAKESPEARE.

27. 'to life'—vividly; in a life-like manner.

28. 'to cast'—to reckon up. Cf. *to cast up accounts*.

'Here is now the smith's note for shoeing and plow-irons. Let it be cast and paid'—SHAKESPEARE.

'You cast the event of war, my noble lord,
And summed the account of chance before you said,
Let us make head'—SHAKESPEARE.

29. *Men have their appointed time to die, and many men die before realising things ('in desire') which they have greatly set their hearts on, such as the marriage and settlement of children, etc.*

30. 'upon terms'—on terms consistent with his honour, and in recognition of his hostile position.

31. 'quit the stage'—leave the thing entirely alone; do nothing.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXVII.

I. Solitude, except when undertaken for spiritual purposes, is bestial, whether—

1. The solitude of the desert (*i.e.* absence of companions).

2. Or that of friendlessness among many people.

II. Fruits of friendship:

1. Disburdening of the heart. Kings and great men need this most, and often eagerly seek it, though to their own injury, *e.g.*:

Sylla and Pompey.

Cæsar and Brutus.

Augustus and Agrippa.

Tiberius and Sejanus.

Severus and Plautianus.

Indeed, friendlessness is a sort of cannibalism.

2. Clearing the understanding—

(a.) By turning vague thoughts into express words.

(b.) By the gift of friendly counsel, which is the surest safeguard against folly.

(c.) By furnishing aid which continues a man's work after him, and is thus a prolongation of life.

XXVIII.—OF EXPENSE. (1597, enlarged 1612, and again in 1625.)

RICHES are for spending,¹ and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary un-

doing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of Heaven ; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate,² and governed³ with such regard, as it be within his compass ; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants ; and ordered to the best show,⁴ that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad.

Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand,⁵ his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts ; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken :⁶ but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often ; for new are more timorous and less subtle.⁷ He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties.⁸ A man had need, if he be plentiful⁹ in some kind of expense, to be as saving again¹⁰ in some other : as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel : if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable : and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing¹¹ of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long ; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse ; for finding himself out of straits,¹² he will revert to his customs : but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things ; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue : but in matters that return not,¹³ he may be more magnificent.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXVIII.

1. 'Riches are for spending.' The only use of wealth is to spend it, just as the only use of food is to consume it. The law of wealth is that increase can be obtained only by expenditure (of strength, food, fuel, etc.), just as in the vegetable world some seed must be sacrificed by being scattered over the ground in order to secure a return of more seed, a hundred-fold greater. Thus we say also that the only use of seed is for sowing. But a wise man so sows as that he may afterwards reap; and so eats and drinks as to sustain his strength for future useful work; and so spends as that he may receive increase of wealth.
Hoarded seed and hoarded wealth are wasted, just as physical strength begins to decay if it is not exercised; miserliness and profligacy are both injurious to society at large. The man who has wealth ought to spend it, but spend it wisely. As Bacon says, riches are intended to be spent, but spent honourably and well ('for honour and good actions').
2. He means that on extraordinary occasions when unusual expense is entailed upon a man he ought not to grudge it, nor meanly to decrease it below what the dignity or importance of the occasion requires of him. The claims of patriotism, just as the claims of religion, may require of him self-sacrifice ('voluntary undoing'), and then duty must override all considerations of economy and frugality. But, on the other hand, the ordinary expenditure of a man must be regulated by economy and frugality alone.
3. 'governed,' etc.—looked after with such care as to keep it within the limits of his means.
4. 'ordered to the best show'—spent prudently, (*i.e.* it should be) regulated so as to get him as much as possible for his money.
5. 'keep but of even hand'—pay his way; live just up to his income; spend with one hand only so much as he can command with the other.
6. 'in respect,' etc.—for fear they should find their means over-spent.
7. As we say, '*A new broom sweeps clean*,' so Bacon holds that servants generally begin well, and are 'timorous' of acting dishonestly, but that afterwards they are less timorous and more subtle; so that a frequent change of servants is often a security against being wronged.
8. 'to turn all to certainties'—to distribute his income into certain fixed amounts, appropriated to the several heads of expenditure, and to rigidly limit his subordinates to the amount prescribed under each head.
9. 'plentiful'—lavish, profuse.
10. 'as saving again'—twice as frugal.

11. 'clearing'—paying off debts and incumbrances. In doing this, Bacon says that a man has to choose between two burdensome courses, either instantly to curtail expenses, and sell off what he does not require, no matter how great the inconvenience may be, or to borrow the money for paying the debts, and taking the burden of having to pay this off with interest. Of these two Bacon seems to think the latter course preferable, as more likely to *induce the habit of frugality*.
12. 'straits'—difficulties; lit. = narrow ways (Latin *stricta*), in opposition to *ample* means. Cf. '*Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life*'—*Matt. vii, 14*.
13. 'return not'—do not occur periodically. In expenditure on *wines, clothing*, and household expenses, a man should restrict himself, because these are constant charges; but on the marriage of an only child, or the coming of age of his heir, he may be more profuse because these are not occasions that will occur again.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXVIII.

- I. Riches are to be spent—on extraordinary occasions, liberally; on ordinary occasions prudently.
- II. Rules for regulating expenses:
 1. Spend in ordinary charges only a fixed proportion (half or third) of income.
 2. Do not be—
 - (a.) Too proud,
 - (b.) Too negligent, or
 - (c.) Too fearful
 to look after your expenses.
 3. Choose servants carefully, and change them often.
 4. Limit your expenditure to fixed sums.
 5. If you spend freely on one side, save on another.
 6. In clearing off old debts it is better to borrow money on interest.
 7. Abridge petty charges.
 8. Check constant charges.

XXIX.—OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES. (1612, enlarged 1625.)

THE speech of Themistocles,¹ the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure,² applied

at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, '*He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.*' These words (holpen a little with a metaphor³) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly,⁴ but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way,—to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts⁵ whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, '*negotiis pares*,'⁶ able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument⁷ fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure;⁸ and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The Kingdom of

Heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed;⁹ which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout¹⁰ and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil¹¹ saith, '*It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.*' The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela¹² was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, '*He would not pilfer the victory.*' and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes,¹³ the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, '*Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;*' but before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds¹⁴ between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon¹⁵ said well to Croesus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), '*Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.*' Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have

subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary¹⁶ forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them¹⁷ soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar¹⁸ will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.¹⁹

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles²⁰ too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll²¹ will be fit for a helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard²² the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh²³ (whereof I have spoken largely in the his-

tory of his life) was profound and admirable ; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard ; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition ; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings ; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy :

'Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ.'²⁴

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over ; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms ; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness ; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree²⁵ of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs ; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern ; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalisation²⁶ towards strangers are fit for empire ; for to think²⁷ that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice²⁸ people in point of naturalisation ; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becoming too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans ; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew

to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called '*jus civitatis*'²⁹), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only '*jus commercii*, '*jus connubii*, '*jus hæreditatis*;' but also, '*jus suffragii*,' and '*jus honorum*;' and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction³⁰ now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid³¹ those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain³² the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground—free servants—and handi-

craftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc. ; not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation ; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations³³ towards arms ; and what is habilitation without intention and act ? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms,³⁴ and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end ; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash ;³⁵ the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time : the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards : but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon :³⁶ it is enough to point at it ; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths ; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders ; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war ; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel³⁷ that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their

generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be prest³⁸ and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate,³⁹ I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia: or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for⁴⁰ the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law,⁴¹ or at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy.⁴² Cicero, writing to Atticus, of Pompey's pre-

paration against Cæsar, saith, '*Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, cum rerum potiri*;' ⁴³ and without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. ⁴⁴ There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives ⁴⁵ and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; ⁴⁶ the style of Emperor ⁴⁷ which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs ⁴⁸ of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was;

for it contained three things; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate⁴⁹ the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), '*add a cubit to his stature*,'⁵⁰ in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXIX.

1. '**Themistocles**.' He was a famous Athenian statesman and general (B.C. 514-449), who won the battle of Salamis over the Persians, and secured the supremacy of Athens over Sparta.
2. '**censure**'—opinion, judgment; and not necessarily (as in our day) given by way of disapproval.
 'Take each man's *censure*, but reserve *thy* judgment'—*Hamlet*.
 'Will you go
 To give your *censures* in this weighty business?'—SHAKESPEARE.
3. '**holpen a little with a metaphor**'—the license being taken of stretching the remark a little, by transferring it from an individual statesman to statesmen generally.
4. '**cunningly**'—cleverly. See note 2, Essay XXII.
5. '**arts and shifts**'—devices habitually and deliberately practised, and petty artifices adopted only for the occasion.
6. '**negotiiis pares**'—equal to their work. He is speaking of men who, though able to continue successfully the management of a state already well-ordered and prosperous, would yet be

quite unable to raise a state from a low position to one of greatness.

7. 'argument'—subject. Cf.:

'That to the height of this great *argument*
I may assert Eternal Providence'—Milton's *Paradise Lost*, i.

8. 'fall under measure'—*come with the range of calculation*: just as revenue may be computed, and population counted, and cities estimated by plans, maps, and lists.

9. *Matt.* xiii, 31.

10. 'stout'—valiant, bold.

'The stout-hearted are spoiled'—*Ps.* lxxvi, 5.

'The character of a bold, stout, magnanimous man'—CLARENDON.

11. 'Virgil'

'Hic tantum boreæ curamus frigora, quantum
Aut numerum lupus, aut torrentia flumina ripas'
—*Eclogues*, vii, 51.

12. 'in the plains of Arbela.' Alexander the Great won the battle of Arbela over the Persians, B.C. 331, in one of the plains between the river Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, called after the neighbouring town of Arbela.

13. 'Tigranes'—an Armenian sovereign, who impudently styled himself 'King of Kings'; he was son-in-law of Mithridates, King of Pontus, with whom he took refuge after being defeated by the Romans. The Roman consul, Lucullus, with a small army gained a complete victory over him.

14. 'odds'—difference; superiority of one over the other. See note 6, Essay XXI.

15. 'Solon'—(seventh century B.C.) one of the so-called Seven Sages of Greece, and the celebrated legislator of Athens. The account of his famous visit to Croesus, King of Lydia, is no doubt, in most respects, mythical.

16. 'mercenary'—hired foreign soldiers (which are the only resource in case of an effeminate people).

17. 'mew them'—moult them, shed them; literally *change them*, from the French *muer*, Latin *mutare*.

Hence a *mew* is a place of confinement for hawks while moulting; and then the word becomes transferred, especially in the plural *mews*, to any place of confinement, as for horses. Cf. '*To mew up your tender kinsman*'—Shakespeare's *King John*.

18. *Gen.* xlix, 9, 14, 15.

19. 'empire'—great rule, possession of great power, or influence over others.

20. 'staddles'—young trees. Hence to *staddle* a wood is to clear away the large trees and leave the young ones standing; and *staddle-roof* is the name of the covering of a rick fastened down to it by staddles or rick-pins.

21. 'hundred poll'—one out of every hundred.
22. 'in regard'—in respect that ; because.
23. 'King Henry the Seventh.' Bacon is referring to the *Statute 4 Henry VII*, 16, 19, which enacted that *every house of husbandry in the kingdom that had twenty acres of land or more attached to it should be maintained and kept up for ever, and used and occupied with the land*. The object of this law, re-enacted by Henry VIII, was to prevent the conversion of arable land into pasture land, as was the tendency in consequence of the rapid growth of the wool trade, but which threw many agricultural labourers out of employ.
24. 'A land strong in arms and in the fertility of the soil'—*Æneid*, i, 531.
25. 'Nebuchadnezzar's tree.' *Dan.* iv, 10: 'I saw, and, behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great.'
26. 'naturalisation'—conferring the rights and privileges of native subjects upon foreigners.
27. 'to think'—as for thinking.
28. 'nice'—fastidious, very particular.
29. 'jus civitatis'—right of citizenship ; consisting, as he enumerates below, not only of *right of trading, right of marriage, right of inheriting*, but also *the right of voting, and the right of holding office in the state*.
30. 'Pragmatical Sanction'—a name derived from the Byzantine empire, and denoting the decrees promulgated by sovereigns. The special *pragmatica* here referred to is probably one issued by Philip IV of Spain, granting privileges to married persons, and larger ones to those who had six children.
31. 'rid'—attend to, get rid of.
32. 'contain'—restrict, confine.
33. 'habilitations'—qualifications. So Bacon speaks of persons who are '*not habilitate to serve in Parliament*.'
34. Romulus bequeathed as a legacy to the Romans that they should earnestly attend to military affairs. The use of *intend* as a transitive verb equivalent to *attend to* was formerly very common :

'Having no children, she did with singular care and tenderness *intena* the education of Philip'—Bacon's *Henry VII*.
35. 'flash'—moment, very short time.
36. 'stood upon'—enlarged upon ; dwelt longer upon in speech.
37. 'quarrel'—ground, cause. See note 21, Essay VIII.
38. 'prest'—ready (Latin *paratus*, French *prêt*).
39. 'tacit conformity of estate'—an understood desire to make every government like one's own.
40. 'It is an advantage to be always,' etc.
41. Has the power of arbitrating and directing, and having its wishes respected.
42. 'abridgment of a monarchy'—a little monarchy in itself.

43. '*The plan of Pompey is thoroughly Themistoclean ; for he thinks that whoever has the mastery of the sea has the mastery of everything.*'
 44. The battle of Actium was won by Augustus over Antony, B.C. 31 ; that of Lepanto over the Turks in 1571.
 45. Orations in praise of fallen victors.
 46. '*personal*'—bestowed as rewards upon separate persons.
 47. '*style of Emperor.*' The title *imperator* is really a military one, and was commonly given by soldiers to a general after a victory.
 48. '*triumphs*'—triumphal processions.
 49. '*impropriate*'—appropriate, take. So also the appropriation of church property by laymen is called *impropriation*.
 50. *Matt.* vi, 27.
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ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXIX.

- I. Of statesmen :
 1. Many are incompetent.
 2. Some can manage a government already settled.
 3. Few could make a small state great.
 - II. The true greatness of an estate consists—
 1. Not in towns, arsenals, armories, etc.
 2. Nor in numerical strength of army.
 3. But in the mettle and 'breed' of the people (examples—Battle of Arbela ; Tigranes ; Solon).
 - III. How greatness is to be attained :
 1. Beware of overtaxing.
 2. Encourage yeomen and 'free servants' (*i.e.* military retainers).
 3. Facilitate naturalisation ; on this subject take warning by the Spartans, and follow the example of the Romans.
 4. Leave sedentary and in-door arts to foreigners.
 5. Let the nation learn to love and profess war.
 6. Be awake to every just occasion for war.
 7. The mastery of the sea is itself an immense power.
 8. Assign glory and honour to warriors.
 - IV. By war kings can add greatness and amplitude to their kingdoms.
-

XXX.—OF REGIMENT¹ OF HEALTH. (1597,
enlarged 1612, and again 1625.)

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic : a man's own observation, what he finds good of,² and

what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, *'This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;'* than this, *'I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:'* for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing³ a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same thing still;⁴ for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it;⁵ for it is a secret both in nature and state,⁶ that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally⁷ held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting.⁸ As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting⁹ inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys, and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects; as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet, for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it.¹⁰ In sickness, respect¹¹ health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp,

be cured only with diet and tendering.¹² Celsus¹³ could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries.¹⁴ Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXX.

1. 'Regiment'—which is the same word as *regimen*, means, in a general sense, *ruling, regulation*; and here, in its hygienic use, it denotes specially the imposition of a systematic course of living with a view to preserving health.
2. 'of'—from; 'of a child' (*i.e.* from childhood)—*Mark ix, 21.*
 'One that I brought up of a puppy'—*Two Gentlemen of Verona.*
 'The captain of the Helots, with a blow whose violence grew of fury, not of strength, nor of strength proceeding of fury, struck Palladius upon the side of the head'—SIDNEY.
3. 'owing'—due to, as an undischarged debt. So we say, 'He is badly off, but a great deal of money is owing to him;' 'Do not forget what is owing to authority.'
 The form 'is owing' is really passive voice, like *building for is being built; printing for is being printed*, etc.
4. 'Bear in mind that old age draws on, and you cannot expect always ('still') to take with impunity indulgences that seem harmless now.'
5. 'fit the rest to it'—change other habits accordingly.
6. 'state'—politics.
7. 'generally'—by people generally; as a general rule.
 'particularly'—in thy own particular case. 'What is good for most people may not be good for yourself.'

8. 'of long lasting'—for prolonging life.
9. 'fretting'—*lit.* eating away little by little.
 'Like as it were a moth *fretting* a garment'—*Ps.* xxxix, 11.
 'This majestical roof, *fretted* with golden fire'—*Hamlet*, II, ii.
 He means that outbursts of anger are soon over; but angry feelings, when cherished and brooded on, tend to gradually wear away the physical health.
10. 'Do not think lightly of any striking change you may observe in yourself, but procure medical advice respecting it.'
11. 'respect'—look forward to; anticipate.
 'Palladius adviseth the front of his house should so *respect* the south'—BROWNE.
12. 'tendering'—careful treatment; nursing.
13. 'Celsus.' He was a Roman physician, living in the first century of the Christian era; his eight books on medicine are still extant, and not without authority in most of the medical schools of Europe.
14. 'taught masteries'—led to acquire strength, which will fortify you against disease.

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXX.

Rules for the preservation of health:

1. The best medicine is to observe what harms you, and to discontinue it.
 2. Change very gradually your habits of diet, exercise, apparel, etc.
 3. Cultivate cheerfulness, and avoid passions that either excite or irritate.
 4. Use medicine, but sparingly (trusting rather to diet), and seek medical advice when necessary.
 5. Use variety of habit, but do not renounce 'benign' things.
 6. Choose for your physician one who is skilled in his art, and acquainted with your constitution.
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XXXI.—OF SUSPICION. (1625.)

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded;¹ for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check² with business, whereby business cannot go on currently³ and constantly:

they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest⁴ natures, as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no;⁵ but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast.

There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false:⁶ for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean, to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he⁷ suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not⁸ be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, '*Sospetto licentia fede*;'⁹ as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

NOTES ON ESSAY XXXI.

1. 'guarded'—carefully kept within proper limits. Suspicions should never rule you; you should keep the mastery over them.
2. 'check'—interfere, thwart. (See note 15, Essay X.)
3. 'currently'—smoothly and continuously, like a running stream.
4. 'stoutest'—bravest. Bravery or courage (Latin *cor*=the heart) was supposed to be seated in the heart; hence Bacon says that suspicions are not defects *in the heart*—i.e. in the courage.
5. *They are not entertained before they have been examined, in order to ascertain whether there is reasonable ground for them or not.*
6. *So far to reckon the suspicions true as to make preparations for the worst; and yet so to disregard them as to hope for the best.*
7. 'he'—used indefinitely: we should now, in this case, use the indefinite personal pronoun *one*.
8. 'would not'—should not, ought not.
9. '*Suspicion is the passport to faith.*' Here '*passport*' means *dismissal, discharge*. So in Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV, iii, 36, the word is used of a cowardly soldier sent back home:

'Let him depart: his *passport* shall be made,
And crowns for convoy put into his hand.'

ANALYSIS OF ESSAY XXXI.

- I. The evil effect of suspicion: viz. it interferes with business, not only in timid persons but also brave—e.g. Henry VII.
- II. The remedy for suspicions:
 1. Full inquiry as to their grounds.
 2. Though hoping they are false, to remember that they *may* be true, and to prepare accordingly.
 3. To avoid artificially nourishing them.
 4. To allow them frankly, except 'to men of base natures.'

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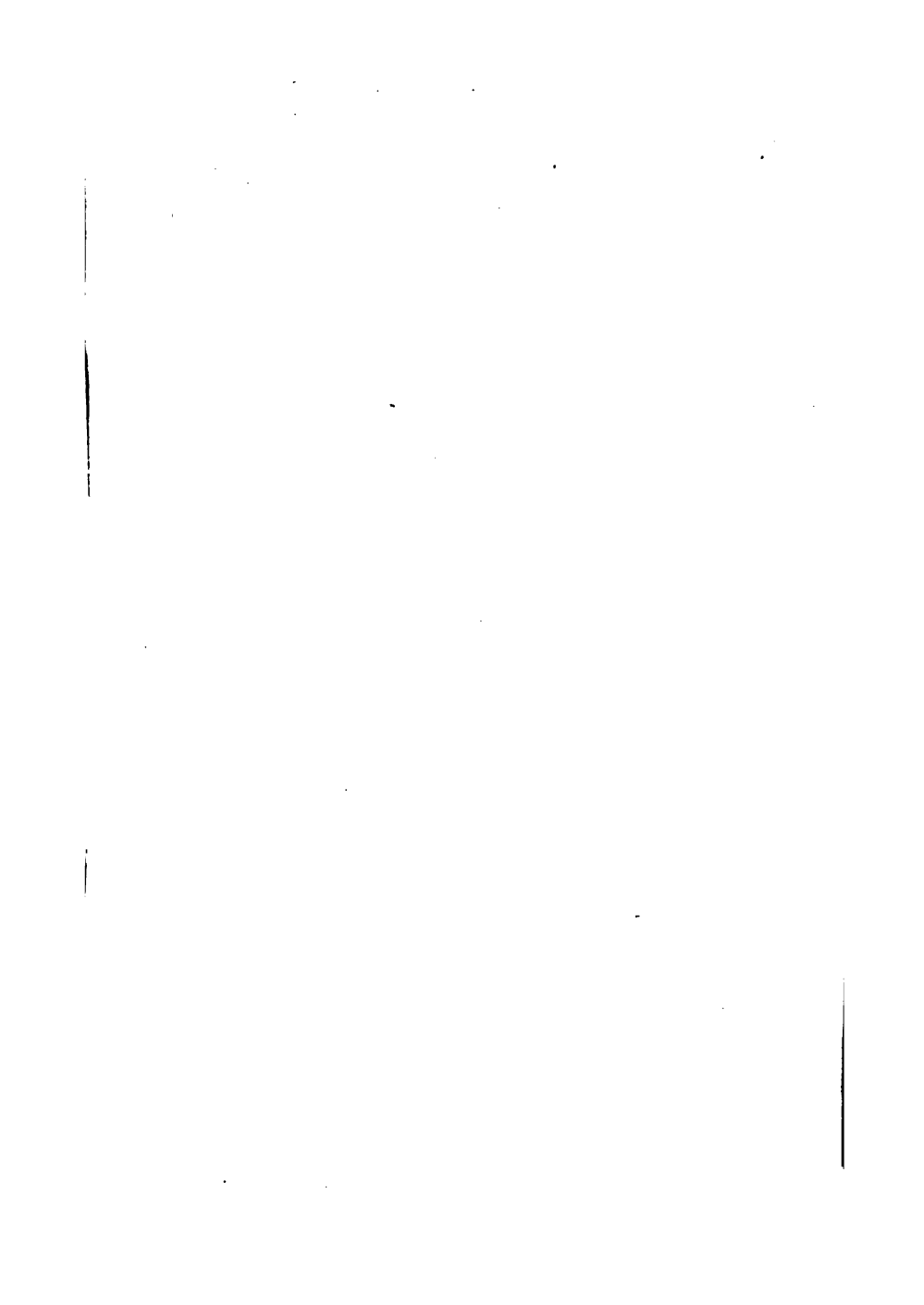
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